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AUTHOR Kelly, Kathy
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ABSTRACT

Each year the officers of the United States National Student Association are required to report on their activities. The report is for the year 1974-75 and discusses activities in the administration of the national office including a brief overview of the finances and operation of the national office. On-going administrative programs including the Office of Educational Affairs, the NSA lobby, the Office of Political Affairs, and the internship program are highlighted. Information dissemination is through the Student Government Information Service, area conferences, the NSA Magazine, and other publications. Major sponsored programs reported on include the National Third World Student Coalition, the National Gay Student Center, National Student Committee for Farmworkers, National Women's Center, Food Action Center, and National Campus Alliance for Amnesty. The service division is involved in the Insurance Trust and the National Student Travel Bureau. The report concludes with a look to the future of the association with some specific recommendations for maintaining the organization's viability. (JMF)

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ED 117 998

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF THE OFFICERS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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28th NATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.
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COMPILED AND WRITTEN
BY KATHY KELLY,
PRESIDENT USNSA

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Each and every staff member of NSA contributed in some way to this report and the Officers would like to express their appreciation. It's not enough, however, to say that without their assistance, this report would not have been completed. That is true; but without their skill and dedication, the year itself would not have been possible. Their perseverance through three long months without pay kept the Association, and us, going. Our gratitude, which is deeply felt, could never be adequately expressed.

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PART TWO: LOOKING AT THE FUTURE

Introduction

Although, the primary purpose of this document is to serve as an administrative report on the activities of the Association over the past year, we hope that it will also be used as a tool for determining the future of NSA.

Part one attempts to convey our work in trying to achieve the goals set by the 27th Congress; it outlines our successes as well as our limitations, in the hope that it will be possible to learn from both. Although they are colored by our frame of reference, an attempt was made to set forth events factually, followed by our conclusions drawn after a year of experience.

Part two endeavors to expand upon those conclusions in a manner which makes their significance, in the light of NSA's future, more understandable.

Our year is over and it is, of course, the future which is most important. It is possible for an organization as established as NSA to limp along and somehow survive. It requires enormous faith, effort and money to make an organization vital enough, innovative enough and productive enough to be worthy of continued support. It requires that a line be drawn between those who stand idly by with their hands out and those who are willing to work.

We have concluded that profound organizational changes will be necessary if NSA is to continue to serve the long range goals of American students. The future of NSA requires one thing: commitment. We believe, as we hope you will, that NSA is worthy of it.

PART ONE

REPORT ON THE YEAR 1974–1975

CHAPTER I: ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE

DETERMINING GOALS AND PRIORITIES
BRIEF OVERVIEW OF FINANCES
OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE
STAFF

Determining Goals and Priorities

Each year, the NSA Congress passes an overwhelming amount of policy mandates. Some are passed simply as statements of policy on a give issue; most, however, demand that some sort of action be taken during the coming year. Last year over 50 mandates were passed by the 27th NSC.

It is the duty of the President and the Vice-President to attempt to fulfill these mandates and to define the policy of NSA based on the Constitution and its Preamble and the enactments of the Congress and the National Supervisory Board. Put simply, it would sometimes be easier to juggle while trying to pull rabbits out of a hat.

With the aid of the National Supervisory Board, an attempt was made to fulfill the mandates of the 27th NSC, and this report deals in depth with the results of that work. In discussing each area, we have tried to explain not only what was done, but why we chose to work on that particular project.

Some projects were more successful than others; some received more emphasis than others. Often this was the result of external circumstances rather than of subjective decisions. The availability of outside funding, legal problems, financial constraints, and the interest and commitment of students, played a decisive role in several instances. Severe financial cutbacks caused by a number of factors resulted in a small, over-burdened staff. Choosing priorities with extreme care became an absolute necessity and for each project allocated resources, staff or other support, another project suffered. Given the fact of limited resources, weighing various methods of fulfilling each goal was also important. The final results took different forms; programs of varying lengths, resource people sent to Area Conferences, lobbying, publications for the Congress, etc. It should be noted that decisions were made and changed as various factors shifted throughout the year. Although this was sometimes frustrating, we invariably tried to exploit our limitations by working around them.

When it came down to the bottom line, difficult decisions were based on giving priority to those programs and activities which would most substantially support the overall goals of the Association.

Brief overview of Finances

The Association's finances may seem somewhat difficult to comprehend by student government leaders who are used to receiving a set fee, based on the number of students in attendance, from their administrations. NSA's income fluctuates from year to year, and the sources vary, often drastically, based on the mood on the campuses, the leadership of the officers, the state of the economy, and the priorities of the constituency.

It is therefore very difficult if not impossible to project income, and the formulation of a budget is equally hard. There are certain things we can generalize about. Income from services has stabalized at about $40,000 per year. Without new organizing drives, we could not hope to increase that amount appreciably. Income from publications sales and miscellaneous sources is usually about $10,000 per year, and dues income has fluctuated at about $20,000 per year for the past few years. Beyond these rough projections, however, there is little the National Office can count on.

We *do* know what it costs just to keep the doors of the Association open. For instance, the mortgage payments are due the first of each month. Essential services like electricity, gas, water, telephone, and trash collection are fairly constant. Property taxes are annual affairs, and payments are made regularly to our attorneys and accountants (albeit at *pro bono* rates).

The following list and estimates will give you an idea of the monthly costs of running NSA merely from the standpoint of keeping the doors open:

mortgage	560.00	per month
electricity	200.00	
gas (heat)	150.00	
trash collection	45.00	
telephone	950.00	
copier	200.00	
taxes (property)	200.00	
prof. services	500.00	
postage	225.00	
	3030.00	

This figure does not include contractual obligations for equipment like typewriters and the postage meter which must be leased, and it does not count any money paid for salaries or expenses like travel, payment of long-term debts, and the bailing out of financially disasterous Area Conferences. But, as a rule of thumb, it takes about three thousand dollars a month to keep running before we pay the people who do the work.

Once you add the people, you have salaries, taxes, long distance calls, printing, and so on. At the beginning of the year we estimated that salaries and payroll taxes for the year would total about $75,000, and with travel, printing and miscellaneous (building maintenance, paper towels, light bulbs and what-have-you), we began looking for the income to balance a projected need of roughly $125,000. Remember, we were only sure of income of about $70,000 (above), leaving a need for $55,000. The only source we could turn to was private contributors in the form of foundations and unions.

This section is intended only to give you a very brief overview of NSA's finances. A comprehensive financial report accompanies this Officers Report.

Operation of the National Office

People sometimes speak of the National Office in hushed tones. They must envision a bright, gleaming, flag-flying marble edifice; a sort of great student government in the sky. In reality, the National Office is a double townhouse located in Northwest D.C., in close proximity to several embassies. It was purchased in 1967 with CIA funds and was deeded over to NSA as part of the divorce settlement that same year.

The building was renovated in 1967, but no capital improvements have been made since then. The paint is old and flaking, the roof leaks, the furniture is ancient. Recently, we were forced to make some immediate internal changes in order to satisfy the fire inspector. Most minor plumbing, electrical and other repairs, as well as major emergencies are handled by Alvin Chapman who has been the NSA custodian, night watchman and all-around godfather for the past ten years. Cleaning services and internal trash collection are provided by the Source Collective, an outside organization who in turn receive their office space on the entire fourth floor rent-free.

The building is four stories tall with a full basement. It is still structured internally like two separate houses and contains some thirty individual offices. Several of them are unusable due to water damage caused by the leaking roof. Over the years, various officers have come up with the bright idea of selling the building. They have always been dissuaded by the fact that despite the need for structural improvements, the building is the Association's single greatest asset: When the mortgage is paid off in 1980, the buildings and land will be worth some quarter of a million dollars.

Operating overhead for the bare-bones functioning of the National Office is about three thousand dollars a month. This amount is hidden (and eater) in such items as electricity, water, gas, basic telephone, insurance, mortgage, property taxes, and building repairs for plumbing, electrical wiring and so on. This includes the amounts paid for leasing of the postage meter and copier.

Because of the precarious financial position we are generally in, the Association has negotiated a variety of beneficial financial arrangements with the companies with which we most often do business. They let us fall temporarily behind in payments without stopping service, and they rarly threaten us with legal action. NSA has been around for a long time, and the Executive Director and the Accountant have convinced the companies we do business with that they will always be paid. There are limits to these policies, of course, but we work closely with the community businesses and it pays off. Certain organizations even extend us cash discounts for paying on delivery.

The only investment in property that the Association makes is for equipment. There are good typewriters, a functional mimeograph machine, and collaters, staplers, folders, inserters and postage machines, all kept in excellent working order so that we are able to process the information that is sent to the membership.

Professional services are provided by our accountants, Leopold and Linowes, and our attorneys, Surrey, Karasik and Morse. Both firms give NSA substantial discounts for services rendered on a pro bono basis. I think we are fortunate and most certainly indebted to them for assisting us; concomitantly, we have access to the best professional services available in Washington, D.C.

Staff

NSA's National Office operates with an average administrative staff of eleven persons. They are: The President, the Vice-President, the Executive Director, the editor of the magazine, an administrative assistant to the President, an office manager, a lobbyist, an accountant, a custodian, a Congress coordinator, and an SGIS director. The staff becomes slightly larger before the Congress, and occasionally an extra staff member is hired to fulfill a specific function during the year. In addition, an average of eight persons are employed by various NSA services and programs, which receive funding from outside sources.

Of the eleven administrative staff all but four (the Magazine editor, the lobbyist, the SGIS director and the Congress coordinator) are directly involved in running the National Office. What this means is that each staff member carries an average of three or four different areas of responsibility. The office manager, for instance, is also the receptionist; she also handles publications, international student identity cards, the incoming and outgoing mail and a host of minor responsibilities.

Staff salaries are determined on an individual basis by the NSA President. They average $5,500.00 annually and are based on length of employment, skills and needs. NSA provides no fringe benefits; only federal and state tax and social security is deducted from salaries, as required by law.

Most staff members have worked with the National Office in some capacity prior to being hired as full-time staff. Some are former interns or NSB members; others have directed outside funded programs which have since been discontinued.

In recent years there has been a conspicuous effort to recruit a more professional, carefully selected staff. The present list of employees reflects this effort. Previously the staff was virtually replaced annually; the President brought with him/her a group of friends, former employees of his/her student government, or friends of the Board. While this occasionally led to an extremely effective person in an NSA position, this method was obviously not satisfactory. More recently the trend has been to hire persons for specific jobs, with a demonstrated record of experience and competence in their designated field. While this principle may not sound earth-shakingly original, it has to be seen as a great step forward from the blatant cronyism that dominated earlier eras.

The level of competence of the NSA staff is very high, and the Officers frequently have to contend with other organizations who try to lure staff members away with salary offers two and three times higher than NSA's. The staff is plagued by too much work, no health coverage, low salaries, and the constant threat of missed payrolls, which is often realized. This year the staff hung in for three long, hard months without salary. Although the Association has been able to meet recent payrolls, the staff is still owed more than $10,000.00

Despite the aforementioned problems, the average staff member remains at NSA for two-and-one-half years.

CHAPTER II: ON--GOING ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRAMS

- OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
- NSA LOBBY
- OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS
  - INTRODUCTION
  - DOMESTIC
  - INTERNATIONAL
- MEMBERSHIP MAINTENANCE AND RECRUITMENT
- INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

Educational Affairs

The top-ranked mandate of the 27th National Student Congress was "Educational Issues and Concerns." Although the mandate makes a distinction between "social and political issues" and "educational issues," it does not define that distinction, and the language of the mandate is frustratingly vague. What was clear, however, was the concern of students over their own welfare and the current state of post-secondary education. It was left to the Officers to define the exact parameters of existing problems within this broad category.

Clearly, the largest problem was a lack of information on various specific problems related to post-secondary education and student life. As each of these specific problems (such as the trend toward more limited access to education) was isolated, we attempted to disseminate information in a variety of ways: Area Conferences, the NSA Magazine, Momentum, SGIS, mass mailings and press releases were utilized not only to deliver information to campuses, but as a method of encouraging response from students across the country.

It was not necessary to isolate specific problems faced by students in post-secondary education: they made themselves glaringly known. The growing trend towards more limited access now affects nearly every student in the United States. It hits minorities, women and the poor first and hardest, threatening the loss of hard-fought gains toward equal opportunity education made over the last decade. We utilized every means possible in the fight to preserve low-cost public education and to halt rising tuition coupled with massive educational budget cuts in both the public and the private sectors.

Research in support of these objectives was distilled into speeches, papers presented at academic conferences, articles for the NSA Magazine, testimony before the House Subcommittee on Post-Secondary Education, workshops given at NSA Area Conferences and the new edition of the NSA publication, Funding of Higher Education. Several other publications analyzing the funding crisis in higher education from a perspective sympathetic to the student point of view were made available through the Student Alliance for Low Tuition, a paper campaign project of NSA for the past two years. With the initiating of lobbying and the strengthening within NSA of the network of State Associations, we should now be equipped to focus more energy on much needed state and federal lobbying.

A considerable amount of time and effort was focused this year on two Congressional legislative items of substantial concern to students; The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act and the regulations for Title IX. The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act, better known as the Buckley Bill, was signed into law last August by President Ford as part of the Education Amendments of 1974. The bill mandated significant alterations in the student record-keeping policies of educational institutions. Most importantly, it limited the jurisdiction of the institutions in the area of dissemination, while giving students access to most of the records maintained by their institutions. Many higher education institutions reacted vehemently to the bill and in December, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), a Trustee at Brown University, led a move to amend and, from the student point of view, considerably weaken the Buckley Bill. Intensive lobbying efforts by NSA led to some significant changes in the language of the proposed amendments which softened the blows; however the modified legislation remains considerably weaker than the originally adopted law by Congress.

Attention was then turned to the proposed requlations for the bill. NSA submitted lengthly comments on the regulations to HEW. In addition, copies of the proposed regulations were reprinted and mailed to student body presidents of member schools and state association heads, urging them to submit comments. Our main activity around the Buckley Bill has been and continue to be educating students as to how the bill can be effectively implemented on their individual campuses.

The work around the final regulations for the implementation of Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 was similar in many respects to be the Buckley effort. Title IX is designed to eliminate sex discrimination in educational institutions which receive federal funding. Although Title IX went into effect in the Spring of 1973, that is one year after it became law, it remained virtually unenforceable in the absence of regulations. Since the passage of the law in 1972, NSA has been involved in disseminating information on Title IX to students. This year a comprehensive information packet was assembled. NSA submitted extensive oral and written testimony on the regulations, for Title IX, urging that vital areas such as athletics not be eliminated from coverage and that the regulations adopted without further delay. As part of the ad-hoc "education task force" on Title IX, NSA helped to design the lobbying strategy that culminated in the adoption of the regulations without any weakening amendments.

Student Trusteeship was ranked as one of the top five mandates at the 27th NSC. Work on this issue began from scratch this year with the collection of data on the various modes of student trusteeship and the impact of students on academic governing boards. NSA met with student trustees and regents at the annual meeting of the Association of Governing Boards which resulted in the formation of the National Steering Committee on Student Trusteeism. Continued correspondence with members of the Commitee resulted in the programming on student trusteeship for this Congress. The on-going data collection process has resulted in the conceptualization of an NSA publication on students and academic governing boards with possible publication set for the fall.

A very large part of NSA's educational mission is acting as the voice of American students on the National level. This becomes of crucial importance in the academic community which is dominated by a multitude of organizations representing the aims of administrators and faculty. NSA presented academic papers at two national conferences on education this year which attempted to outline the Student perspective. "The Changing Values of Students" was presented at the Boston College Conference in Higher Education on June 2nd. "What do Students Really Want?" was presented at the Society of College and University Planners Conference in Minneapolis on July 11. Although NSA has long been a participant at many conferences dealing with higher education, it is significant that we are now being considered a resource as well.

NSA Lobby

At Congresses in 1968, 1971, 1973, and 1974, delegates took strong stands in favor of restructuring NSA to allow lobbying as a legitimate activity of the Association. The Bifurcation of the Association made that desire a possibility and this year NSA registered as a federal lobbyist. The NSA Lobby will have two main functions: Lobbying at the federal level on appropriate issues and assisting student lobbies at the state and local level with technical advice on issues and organization.

Although NSA has testified before Congress on a variety of higher education issues, our previous lobbying efforts were necessarily limited in continuity and depth by the Association's C-3 tax status. Prevented by the legal restrictions governing our tax status from activities other than research and information dissemination, NSA could neither advocate nor oppose specific legislation. In addition, what lobbying activities the organization did undertake were structured around single issues or certain specific bills, rather than at establishing a permanent lobby that could address itself to a variety of issues on a long term basis.

Now NSA is the only federally registered student lobby, and the largest organization involved in student lobbying in the country. With our registration comes the possibility of proposing specific pieces of legislation, advocating language that we have authored, and opposing regressive bills or language directly. All of these new avenues of action came into play with our work on the Buckley amendment. Without detailing here NSA's battle to secure the confidentiality of student records (see chapter 16, the lobbying guide), I will note that our role in the outcome of that legislation was widely acknowledged. The *Washington Post* among others, publically credited NSA with the successful passage of strong regulations for the implementation of the Buckley amendment. Our work on Buckley was singular in that a lobby almost never works alone, and rarely if ever expect to be publically credited, even for a job well done. NSA's work on Title IX was far more typical of the kind of quiet, coalition efforts that comprises most effective lobbying. Whereas with Buckley in December, we were the only ones condemning weakening compromise, the proposing alternative language for enforcement, Title IX saw us as part of a multi-faceted coalition efofrt promoting the immediate ratification of the guidelines.

This year we have chosen to focus our attention and effort on a small number of carefully selected bills. We targeted three issues of major importance to students (the 1976 education budget, the Buckley amendment and Title IX) to concentrate upon. We had observed the ineffectiveness of similar organizations and concluded that it was caused in large part by dilution of effort on several minor issues. Determining priorities is a difficult task, but we fell that our success this year proves the merit of that approach.

To a certain extent a lobby can judge its effectiveness by how often legislators approach it for information and guidance as opposed by the percentage of time and effort spent trying to gain the favorable attention of pivotal lawmakers. The NSA Lobby, even at this stage, has reached that point. We have developed a high degree of inhouse expertise on our targeted areas of interest. Increasingly, we are called upon to give testimony before Congressional committees considering pending legislation, not so much because we are known to possess a certain view, but rether, because we are becoming known as extremely well informed on subjects such as federal aid to higher education and its effect upon the consumers in the educational system, or the impact of sexism in education at the student level.

On the local level we conducted lobbying workshops at area conferences in every region. Some meetings of state-wide lobbying groups met concurrently with NSA area conferences. One example was the South Central Area conference held last fall, which was conducted along with meetings of the Colorado Student Lobby and the Colorado Student Alliance. In addition, We sent representatives to several states at the request and expense of groups of local schools to help organize regional or state lobbies.

NSA has encouraged and assisted the developing trend of schools to organize into state associations. Only a limited number of issues of substantial importance to students can be lobbied at the federal level. Students are affected on a day to day basis by legislation at the state level. The trend in federal higher education legislation is to decentralize the administration of various programs by granting the individual states latitude in interpreting the law. In addition, progressive state legislation can serve as a model for similar federal legislation. Thus, assisting local and state lobbying efforts has been and will continue to be a major task of the NSA Lobby.

On a less active scale, NSA has represented the interests of students in a number of coalition lobbies around such issues as gun control, low cost housing and prepaid community legal services. Coalition efforts keep us in touch with organizations with goals compatable to those of NSA; our level of activity is determined by the level of interest of our membership in a given area.

Our transition into a lobbying organization was eased by the fact that NSA was an established organization with a well-known reputation. As part of NSA, the lobby can take advantage of a nation-wide infrastructure. Many existing functions of NSA, such as area conferences, SGIS and publications, which a lobby alone could not sustain, will become political organizing tools.

The issues are there, waiting to be acted upon. NSA now has the capacity to lobby, backed by a proven track record. If our constituents allocate it the priority and support it requires, we feel that its enormous potential can be realized.

Introduction

> ... to maintain academic freedom, academic responsibility and student rights; to stimulate and improve democratic student government; to develop better education standards, facilities and teaching methods; to improve student culture, social and physical welfare; to promote international understanding and fellowship; to guarantee to all people, because of their inherent dignity as individuals, equal rights and possibilities for primary, secondary, and higher education regardless of sex, race, religion, political belief or economic circumstance; to foster the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of students to the school, the community, humanity and God...
>
> —from the Preamble to the Constitution

NSA was founded as a student organization whose primary interest was most naturally education. However the Preamble recognizes that students do not live in an ivory tower of academia which shields them from the real world. From its inception, the Association defined students as a special-interest group, not as a separate entity immune from the conflicts of the world and the responsibilities of the human race. The founders of NSA believed that students not only had the potential, but the obligation to affect the larger society. This belief was rooted in no particular political philosophy save one: That American Students, if given information upon which to base decisions, would make , to the best of their ability, the correct decisions. This philosophy was not based upon a given political dogma, but rooted in a firm belief in the intelligence and humanity of American students.

From time to time, various sectarian political groups, which viewed NSA as either a vast recruiting fround or as a possible front organization, have tried to gain control of the Association. It has never happened. NSA continues to derive its voice solely from the collective voices of American students.

It would be self-serving to view students as a special class who should occasionally be prompted to dirty their hands outside the confines of the university. The motivation for students to widen their perspective is hardly altruistic. Students, and yes, even the sacred halls of academia, are repeatedly influenced and affected by "the outside would." Because nuclear warheads are a higher government priority than education, students are forced to mortagage their lives to obtain a degree. Many people lack even that choice. And it is no longer, the poor the disadvantaged, the minority who are denied the right to an education. The continuing trend of rising tuition coupled with massive cutbacks affects all but a most privileged minority.

It is no longer fashionable to quote Clark Kerr's statement that "Universities are the handmaidens of society." But it is still true, with very rare exceptions, that our colleges and universitities work hand-in-hand with the status quo by perpetuating stereo types, by limiting education and employment in certain fields, by conducting research which invents new rationales for existing conditions.

And existing conditions render distinctions between "educational issues" totally meaningless. This does not mean that students should not set priorities for the National Student Association. On the contrary, it is imperative that they do so. To attempt too much with limited and therefore precious resources obviates any potentially postive effect. We do feel, however that these priorities should be based on the merits of a given situation rather than on vague and obsolete categories.

We believe, as did the founders of NSA, that American Students can have a strong and positive impact on society as a whole. The following will outline projects undertaken in the spirit of that belief this year.

Domestic

The Association works with a diverse range of groups and organizations with which it shares a variety of relationships. Generally we enjoy two main types of cooperative venture; those devoted to specific lobbying goals and those of an essentially non-political nature. Certain of these relationships are described in other sections of this report in descriptions of the activities of the specific program areas to which they relate. However, some organizations relate to NSA on an administrative level and are not tied to a program format.

As varied as these external groups are, the types of relationship that NSA shares with each is almost as wide ranging. In a given week representatives of NSA may attend a meeting of the board of directors of a group involved in educational activities, join a coordinated lobbying effort when a coalition of which NSA is a part targets a certain key bill, co-sponsor a joint mailing to the membership of several allied organizations, speak for the student interest in a broadly based consumer group, and lend the name of the Association to the joint policy statement of an ortanization whose tenets we endorse. Obviously the range described above calls for many different levels of resource commitment. The intense lobbying push may assume a drop-all-else-priority for several days, while the loaning of the Associations' endorsement may require only a decision and a phone call. Both cases share the Association's commitment of support and neither decision was casually reached. We can not here detail the full extent of our involvement with the programs and goals of other organizations. A representative sample follows: The Coalition to Stop Funding the War--an essentially political approach to the problem of continued US involvement, this time fiscal and material. in the Southeast Asia conflict.

The Education Task Force--another lobbying coalition strongly endorsed by NSA, concerned with the immediate passage of the guidelines implementing Title IX. Note: both this and the preceding group were temporary coalitions now rendered obsolete by the achievement of their stated goals.

The Coalition to Fight Inflation and unemployment whose efforts to secure emergency jobs legislation for students and young workers, were joined by NSA.

The National Advisory Committee of Organizations to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting-- has an NSA position on its Board to provide for student input in decision making, in direct public broadcast policy.

The National Coalition to Ban Handguns-- a lobby organized originally by the Methodist Church, the aim of which is self-explanatory. NSA holds a seat on its board of directors. This could go on for scores of pages but the above sample should symbolize the variety of contacts and roles.

The guiding principal with all of these relationships is NSA own policies and those areas that coincide with the goals of the allied organization. While we do not endorse all of the work of each of our co-participants in the bilateral ties, the Association has in each case found on an issue-by-issue, and organization-by-organization basis, a troung area of common intent. In each case our participation or endorsement is clearly limited to those common areas of endeavor. The Association officers must judge where the student interest lies on a given issue, and seek out or welcome groups championing that position. This is one important way that the National office translates Congress mandates into action.

An additional benefit of such joint endeavors is the exposure afforded the NSA among effective action ortanizations sharing similar principles. Our work with coalition efforts has brought us into rare contact with many orgainzations which are normally deprived of the student viewpoint. For example one can not sit across from a labor union official at a series of coalition meetings without developing a strong and useful tie.

International Affairs

There has been more significant activity on the international level this year than at any time in the last six years of the Association's history. We have established working relationships with student organizations in several key counties.

Our international affairs are closely constrained by the great costs involved in transportation to other countries. In this, as in so many areas, the financial limitations mean too few staff and no money for expenditures. This is in particular contrast to the situation of most foreign student organizations. Much less affluent countries than the U.S. can and do mount very ambitious international student programs. The socialist states of Eastern Europe, for example, generously support their student groups' international contacts. However, the student groups in these countries are largely state funded and controlled. But even in Western Europe and Australia the student unions enjoy substantial support and financial assistance without apparent compromise of their independence.

NSA wishes to be an independent organization and to participate in international activities and exchanges. No other student organization in this country combines both these qualities. To operate on the international level requires substantial resources as well as a high level of interest. Very special support circumstances must exist at the present time before NSA can even consider an international venture. One such successful episode is outlines below. The Congress delegates will decide whether the Soviet-NSA exchangethis year is to be an incident or a precedent. We must set our intended level of commitment to international affairs and allocate a priority to that commitment, if our foreign relations are not again to become dormant. The choice is clear. Other organizations are ready to step into the breech should NSA re-direct itself to an entirely domestic orientation. If it is important that an independent organization speak for US students on the international level, then the membership of NSA will have to make such activities a high Association priority. While the policies and positions of NSA are subject to constant review and change, the democratic processes of elections and direction insure that Association policy always reflects the interests and priorities of our constituency. We owe it to those we represent to carry this accurate version of the US student opinion abroad.

A vastly expanded program on the part of USNSA will have to await a much higher level of funding. However, even at our present subsistence level of expenditure we have been able to make notable advances and improvements. The delegation that NSA sent to the Soviet Union was without precedent in several respects. This exchange of official delegations had been planned and discussed many times in the last few years but, due to several technical reasons, it never came about. As before, this year there were conversations with Soviet embassy staff in Washington in which the possibility of an exchange was explored. The main barriers were scheduling problems and, of course, funds. The negotiations proceeded rather slowly until this Spring when NSA President Kathy Kelly spoke to several Soviet officials at a Soviet-American conference in Exeter, N.H., co-sponsored by the American Council of Young Political Leaders and the Young Communist League. The Soviets returned home promising to move quickly on details and invitations and, in a matter of days, we received a formal invitation to send a small delegation of NSA representatives.

The invitation made it possible for NSA to approach an airline whose generous assistance enabled the exchange to take place. Finally, the arrangements were set and on June 29th President Kathy Kelly, Glenn Strahs, Director of the National Student Travel Bureau, Deborah Barthel, member of the National Supervisory Board from the Far West Area, and Maynard Jones, President of the Evening School of City College of New York, were flown to Moscow. The ten days spent in the Soviet Union are detailed in part in the Congress and You but several points stand out.

This trip to Moscow and Baku, and the USSR Student Council delegation here at our 28th Congress, comprise the first official exchange of representatives between our two organizations in their histories. We hope that it will be the first of a continuing series of exchanges.

While in Moscow, Glenn negotiated a plan for the bilateral exchange of students on a commercial basis between NSTB and Sputnik, the Soviet Youth Travel Bureau. We can expect many things to grow out of this effort; some can already be seen. The US State Department has been following our progress and they are precisely the sort of groundbreaking activity that foundations are likely to support and endorse.

Finally, it will become possible for us to make a contribution of some significance to the future of detente and, therefore, toward the cause of peace, which was one of the tenets of NSA when founded in 1947 by veterans of WWII.

NSA participates in bilateral exchanges and contacts with national student unions in other countries. These most commonly take the form of letters, exchanges of publications and information and when possible personal visits. Many foreign student leaders have taken the opportunity afforded by official or private travel to the United States to consult with NSA officers and staff at our National Headquarters in Washington. This year we have met with representatives of the national student organizations of:

Peru
Hong Kong
Mexico
Philippines
Panama
Nigeria
Poland
Finland
South Africa
Greece
Czechoslavakia
South Korea
Sudan
Liberia
Ethiopia
West Germany
Sweden.

Unfortunately, these are one-way visits. But they have led to continuing written exchanges. Many domestic organizations have come to depend upon NSA for assistance in constructing proposed agendas for foreign student leaders, travelling in the U.S.

Even with our limited budget there is valuable service that we can perform for certain foreign student organizations. We can, and do assist in focusing public and Congressional attention on the repressive treatment accorded fellow students in other countries. The national student organizations of countries such as Uganda, Iran, Brasil, and India to name just a few, have been the target of government repression as result of their attempt to exercise political independence. The abuses of their legal and human rights vary from suspension of certain academic priveleges to imprisonment torture and death. Chile is the most conspicuous example of the systematic attempt of a government to deprive the student population of effective leadership. NSA can subject the Embassy and the government of the responsible country to pressure and attention. Perhaps more effectively, our own government, which is more often than not a significant military, economic, and political supporter of the regime in question can be involved in the process.

We have documented examples of cases in which our persistent expressions of concern and condemnation have lead to substantially better treatment for an imprisoned foreign student leader. The knowledge that organizaions within a country as powerful as the US are closely watching the treatment of student dissidents elsewher can, and has, acted as a moderating force and a deterrant against the more extreme forms of reprisal. We would be the first to recognize that these calls and letters to foreign embassies and to our own Dept. of State are far from enough. However, we are grateful that they have had any positive influence at all. One successful example is detailed in the Indochina Legacy Secion below.

There is a widely held view that there exists an irreversible international trend toward less repressive governments everywhere and that, isolated examples such as Chile are anomalies and not representative of the growing liberalism elsewhere. In fact, such a view is a myth. Several non-governmental groups, UN agencies, church groups and individual scholars have recently provided overwhelming documentation to prove that the most notable, contemporary, political trend is toward more, not less, repressive and undemocratic forms of government. More and more regimes are willing to control and disorganize the popular will. Student populations are always among the most earliest and vulnerable targets of this process. We must face the fact that things are not getting better and better; that our fellow students in foreign countries are often in desperate political situations, and that this is increasingly the case. Therefore simple humanitarian concerns must lead us to continue and expand our modest efforts to monitor and if possible, to attempt to influence the treatment of students elsewhere.

Indochina Legacy Project

The Indochina Legacy Project was begun in September 1973, in cooperation with the Indochina Mobile Education Project, the Indochina Resource Center and the Indochina Peace Campaign. The Project reflects a long-standing commitment of the National Student Association. Our involvement goes back to NSA's historic trip to Viet Nam in 1971. At that time NSA representatives joined Vietnamese student leaders in a demonstration of protest against American support of the Thieu government. Aware of the danger for the Vietnamese students in protesting against the repressive Thieu regime, the NSA delegation promised the Vietnamese students that if they were ever imprisoned American students would work for their release. One of these student leaders was the charismatic Huynh Tan Mam, who had served as President of both the Vietnam National Union of Students and the General Assembly of Saigon Students.

Huynh Tan Mam was arrested January 5, 1972. It was not his first arrest, but this time he was held for more than three years. During this time NSA repeatedly called for the release of Huynh Tan Mam and all the political prisoners incarcerated by the South Vietnamese government. The NSA Magazine reprinted the prison letters of Huynh Tan Mam, which gave a first-hand description of the torture, starvation and disease of South Vietnam's prisons. They also told of the large number of students, teachers and clergy, who were trapped in these hellholes for no reason other than their opposition to the Thieu regime.

The Indochina Legacy Project ran all year on almost no money, doing mailings for other concerned groups in return for the opportunity to circulate petitions calling for the release of the political prisoners in the NSA Magazine. We co-ordinated efforts with the organizers of the Assembly to Save the Peace Agreements, held in Washington on the third anniversary of the signing of the Paris Peace Accord.

On January 24th we called a press conference to launch a new program, "Funds for Education....Not War," as a part of the Indochina Legacy Project. We claimed that "thousands of American students are dropping out of school because of inadequate financial aid, while our country spends millions on the Thieu government, which arrests, imprisons and murders college students in South Vietnam." We said that this was absurd and immoral, and we called for a reordering of national priorities. We called for an end to all aid to Indochina, in particular the $300 million in supplemental aid Ford asked of Congress in a last-ditch attempt to salvage the Thieu government.

Vo Nhu Lanh, Interim President of the South Vietnamese National Student Union, who was jailed and tortured in Saigon for several months, was originally scheduled to speak at the press conference. While waiting for a visa in Canada, he was denied entrance into the United States. He did speak with Kathy Kelly by telephone from Canada and he conveyed his deep gratitude to NSA and to all American students who worked for the release of their Vietnamese counterparts. NSA publicly endorsed a "Common Declaration" calling for international student opposition against the Thieu regime and against continued American aid.

NSA called for a Month of Concern for South Vietnamese Political Prisoners during which we mailed petitions to every college and university in the country to protest the continued incarceration of South Vietnam's political prisoners. Despite the fact that the South Vietnamese government was obviously on its way out, we received a good response from the petitions, and we sent copies of them to sympathetic Congresspeople as the last debates on continued aid to Vietnam were raging.

Additionally, we urged students to write to their Congresspeople urging them to vote down the $300 million in supplemental aid. We made telephone calls and sent telegrams to the appropriate Congresspeople from the National Office, and supported the lobbying efforts of the Coalition to Stop Funding the War. The tide turned. Except for humanitarian aid, all supplemental aid was voted down.

Throughout the year the Indochina Legacy Project worked for the release of Huynh Tan Man as a symbol of all political prisoners. In January we wrote to President Ford, asking him to help us locate Mam, since he had not only stopped writing, but seemed to have disappeared from the prison we last heard he was in. We received a reply from the State Department which denied that Mam was a political prisoner (although it acknowledged that he had never been convicted of a crime) and it repeated the same information the government had been releasing for a year -- that Huynh Tan Mam was in the Chieu Hoi (Open Arms) "re-education center," and would soon be released to his friends and family. We then wrote to U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin in Saigon, asking him what information he had of Huynh Tan Mam *independent* of that provided by the Thieu government. The reply was the same letter *word-for-word* that we had originally received from the State Department.

Despite this frustrating bureaucratic merry-go-round, our publicity on the issue seemed to help. In March the *New York Times* reported that several U.S. Congresspeople located Huynh Tan Mam during their fact-finding visit to South Vietnam to determine the need for supplemental aid. They found him in the Ham Tan prison, where he said he had been threatened with punishment if he spoke with them. We tried to get more information, but it was not until after the fall of the Thieu regime that we heard the good news that Huynh Tan Mam was free. He is now working with the Liberation Student Union of South Vietnam which is trying to rebuild the student movement of that country.

The coalitions we have been working with seem to be taking two directions for the future. Some, like the Coalition to Stop Funding the War have turned their attention to problem of national priorities. They are working to cut down the Defense budget, to create a Department of Peace, etc. We feel that continued work with them could result in decreased Defense budget and an increase in federal financial aid to education.

The other direction which these organizations are taking is working to rebuild Vietnam, and to rebuild the bodies of the prisoners which U.S. tax collars helped to maim and destroy. We feel that this is also a project which deserves our support.

We also feel that NSA must continue to protest the imprisonment and torture of students wherever it occurs in the world. The idealism and energy of students has always been a target of non-democratic governments. Today, thousands of students who dared to speak against their governments are jailed in South Korea, South Africa and Chile. In several countries, election as President of the national student organization is of itself reason for an automatic jail sentence. From an international perspective, NSA has been fortunate to have suffered only the Enemies List and its consequences. We feel that this leaves us with an obligation to all our counterparts around the world. Governments are reluctant to wipe out political opponents when the whole world is watching them. Our attention helped to save Huynh Tan Mam's life. It may help to save others.

Membership Maintenance and Recruitment

The limited financial resources of the Association severely handicapped attempts to conduct a major, nationwide membership drive. Organizations similar to NSA (Common Cause, for example) expend at least one-third of their total income solely on membership recruitment. Since this was not a clearly mandated priority of the Association, no such allocation of time and resources was devoted to recruitment. The officers did, however realize the importance of recruitment and several specific attempts to raise membership were made. The result is that the membership of NSA for 1974-1975 is higher than for 1973-1974. Although we are pleased with that fact, we do not consider the increase significant.

Two mailings, one to past members and one to prospective members were sent immediately after the 27th NSC. Both mailings outlined our program for the year, asked for input, and solicited membership. Two similar mailings were sent in early December. Several times this year, NSA recieved outside funding for mass mailings soliciting support for sponsored programs, such as the Indochina Legacy Project and the NAACP sponsored May 17 march. Each time these mailings were sent, additional information on NSA (usually in the form of a letter from the President) was also included. The NSA Magazine, sent to every student body president in the U.S., was also used as a recruitment device.

Person-to-person contact, by far the most effective method of recruitment, was used whenever possible. There was no travel or expense account for either officers or staff; as a result, any travel was conditionally pre-paid by sources outside of the National Office. In addition to area conferences, the Officers and staff made presentations to individual student governments and met with several state associations. For the first half of the year, the Services Division, under the directorship of Dan Allison, actively recruited schools throughout the country. The mid-year curtailment of the USNSA Insurance Trust limited this activity.

Virtually no recruitment was done by members of the NSB, with the exception of Alexis Olsen, the current Chairperson, who visited several schools in Indiana and Illinois. Indeed, one Board member seemed to take pride in her insistence that she would not visit or even call schools in her area despite the fact that there are some 225 schools within one hour of her campus and more than 75 that could be reached with a local phone call.In fairness to the majority of the NSB, however, it should be pointed out that many of them carried additional responsibilities on their own campuses. We have concluded that it is probably unrealistic, if not unfair, to expect the NSB to have a membership with the time required to visit area schools.

We feel very positively about the effect of the mandate passed by the 27th NSC which cut off all services to non-dues paying schools after December 31. This resulted in an influx of early dues paying schools which simplified accounting procedures and eased our cash-flow situation somewhat. More importantly, we believe in the spirit of the mandate and we found that its implementation allowed us to concentrate our efforts on the needs of member schools. The mandate also served as an incentive to join NSA, since it resulted in clearly defining the benefits of being a member.

Following the spirit of the mandate, special services such as Momentum and mailings of issue updates, were reserved for members only. SGIS has continued this policy by developing new services for members which will be available next year. In addition to the discounts offered to member schools on almost all NSA services (the Insurance Trust, NSTB, publications, etc.) we were able to substansially lower the Congress registration fee for member schools this year.

In conclusion, we feel strongly that NSA should serve the needs of member schools as a first and foremost priority. We also believe that most NSA member schools have a very unrealistic view of exactly what NSA should provide. Unlike almost every other major organization serving the needs of a special-interest constituency, NSA is simply not financially supported by its membership. If we provided services to members based solely upon the income received from dues, we would be able to publish and mail a four to six page newsletter once a month. Period. Foundation support has shrunk with the economy; in the future it will be available (if it is available at all) only for specific projects rather than for general support. Although services such as the NSA Insurance Trust and NSTB provide a solid financial base for the Association, they cannot realistically support the bulk of other activities.

In addition, our experience this year has proven to us the necessity of allocating time and money to the recruitment of new member schools as a top priority. A larger and more representative NSA will ultimately result in a better organization. Existing members will there by receive indirect but very concrete benefits.

Finally, we believe that it is the responsibility of the membership to determine what they want and the extent to which their desires are realistic in terms of their actual financial support.

Internship Program

The NSA internship program provides unsalaried staff positions to selected applicants for a period normally equal to one academic term. The program is a source of assistance to the Association and a varied, career experience for those interns selected. The aid rendered the various programs by intern labor and skills more than offsets the staff time diverted by the training and direction they require. The Association functions year-round and interns can be brought into program areas at various times throughout the year. Generally the majority of applicants seek positions in the summer term, which due to the annual Congress, happens to coincide with the Associations greatest need for assistance. Interns function as full staff in all respects except salary. Coming straight from the campus the interns bring fresh perspectives to their program areas and tend to diminish the sense of isolation of the National office.

The Association places particular value upon interns who can function will independently and plan work without close supervision. No intern is required to act as a secretary or a typist for any member of the regular staff. Everyone at NSA is expected to be responsible for his or her own files and correspondence with few exceptions.

With intern applicants running over sixty for the summer term alone this year, we have clearly generated a great deal of interest in the program among students. That we successfully employed three interns out of the sixty-plus applications received does not reflect overly rigid or unrealistic standards of acceptance to the program. Rather it is another unfortunate symptom of NSA's financial situation. In the pool of prospective interns, as in the field of regular employment, the NSA must compete with 100's of other organizations, governmental and private. Virtually, all of these enjoy a much higher level of funding than the association, and this is mirrored in the level of staff compensation they are prepared to offer. Some agencies pay intern stipends which exceed the regular salary average at NSA, almost all pay something. Therefore NSA is seeking qualified applicants for unpaid work in direct competition with hundreds of wage or stipend granting organizations. And this unequal search for personnel takes place in a job market with much more demand than the available intern supply will fill. The surprising thing, given these circumstances is that we are able to attract any interns at all.

In spite of the above difficulties, we have been able to attract an unfortunately limited number of competent interns. Several of NSA's most valuable regular staff members first served as interns. In partial answer to the financial hardship imposed upon interns by participation in the program NSA has particularly recruited at those few schools which offer scholarshop assistance to some interns placed in Washington jobs. The UCLA and Berkeley Washington internship programs have a limited number of such scholarships. We have been fortunate in attracting the highly motivated and committed interns that we have had over the past year. The Association can offer work in both skilled areas such as journalism and accounting and programatic and research areas such as SGIS and the National Third World Student Coalition. Most interns will work in more than one program area during their NSA tenure, and the work is much more varied than that offered by the majority of organizations employing intern assistance. Given both the broad function of SGIS and its importance to the Association that area has been given a top priority for intern assistance this year.

Given the constant influx of applications which must, regretfully, be denied, the intern program is clearly one of the most easily expanded of NSA'a program areas. We hope that at some point in the future, the Association will be able to at least compensate interns by providing then with living expenses.

CHAPTER III: INFORMATION DISSEMINATION

SGIS
AREA CONFERENCES
NSA MAGAZINE
MOMENTUM
PUBLICATIONS

Student Government Information Service (SGIS)

Often referred to as "the backbone of the NSA," the Student Government Information Service (SGIS) is the core of the information collection/analysis/dissemination effort of the Association. Established by mandate at the founding Congress in 1947, the SGIS has operated continuously for nearly thirty years, making it the oldest program in operation.

I. Information Collection:

SGIS collects information from many sources. Regular contact with the dozens of education foundations, government offices dealing with education, education publishing houses, lobbying groups, and professional organizations in or near Washington insures that SGIS information is comprehensive and extremely current. An additional effort is made to obtain information directly from campuses throughout the country in order to analyze the state of student advocacy and current problems. This insures the maintenance of referral systems capable of putting students with questions in contact with students with answers. SGIS maintains an extensive information bank capable of providing short term problem solving information to members, while also allowing for in-depth research on topics of unusual concern or breadth of impact.

II. Information Analysis and Research:

Because NSA is an advocacy organization in many respects, the information SGIS receives is evaluated according to its potential impact, positive and negative, on student interests. SGIS, in collaboration with special NSA desks and staff, attempts to develop counter-arguments to studies and statistics which seem unfavorable to student interests, and to advise members of ways in which to combat trends which will have a negative effect on the student community (such as the trend toward increasing tuitions).

Dormant for the past few years due to constraints on NSA staff time, the SGIS is being revitalized under the new SGIS director, and promises to become one of the primary aspects of the service.

III. Information Dissemination:

SGIS has utilized member requests as its primary information dissemination device during the past few years with some success. In addition, SGIS has supplied data to the NSA Magazine and resource material for Area Conferences. We have also made limited use of mass mail contact. While these will remain the primary tools of dissemination, in the near future, work on a broad series of pre-punched pamphlet type documents which synthesize information available to SGIS in specific areas is underway in accordance with the SGIS mandate passed at the 27th National Student Congress. The "synthesis document" concept permits SGIS to provide in-depth studies of areas of special concern to students in an up-dateable format, thus obviating costly and time-consuming duplication of effort each time a problem area is researched for a member school. Each series will begin with a groundwork document for each of the special problem areas to be covered by the series as a whole, and these groundwork documents will provide the historical and factural reference frame for up-date mailings. As an example, the series entitled "Students and the Law" will contain several groundwork documents such as Group Legal Services (currently in production) and The Student Attorney; additional documents dealing with developments in both of these areas will then be sent to member schools as they are developed to up-date and amplify the specific problem areas.

IV. Problems:

The problems encountered by SGIS during the term of this administration were largely historical. It had been several years since an NSA president had strong commitment to SGIS, and as a result the office had fallen to its lowest activity levels in years. The information sent to schools was often slow in coming and inadequate upon arrival. Unhappily, despite the fact that SGIS received the second highest priority among the mandates passed by delegates at the 27th NSC, NSA's financial resources did not permit the hiring of the additional staff members which implementation of the mandate required. When funds finally did become available, we were able to secure the services of the person who wrote the SGIS mandate at that Congress, Frank Till. We decided, in addition, to commit most of our summer intern strength to SGIS, and two full time interns were assigned -- Chris Hall and Keith Osajima, both recent graduates of the University of California. The presence of the interns proved that the effective operation of SGIS requires more than one person, no matter how skilled or committed that person may be. Until recently, NSA resources had allowed only one person to work in SGIS, and that person was responsible for membership maintenance and recruitment as well.

V. The Future:

SGIS can develop only insofar as it is supported by the newly elected officers, by the financial support of the membership and by the availability of resources. Plans for expansion at this time call for several important modifications to existing operations as well as the establishment of a first-rate student advocacy research function and high quality publications on a wide range of crucial topics.

A. Modifications:

It is our hope to be able to target the problems of member schools requesting information assistance with greater accuracy than has ever been the case. It does little for a school of 2,000 students in an urban environment to learn how a school of 20,000 in a non-urban environment solved problems which are superficially similar. Better targeting of problems means more useful information, and more useful information means more effective problem solving. It is also our hope to completely revise and upgrade the "list referral" system SGIS has utilized for the past five years through the questionnaires SGIS is requesting from each delegation to the 28th NSC. Through questionnaires, increased contact with state assocations, and more direct mail contact initiated by SGIS, the service will take steps to insure the anticipation of problems that students are about to face instead of simply acting in response to already perceived needs.

B. Research:

Without first-rate research, SGIS cannot become more than a conduit for existing information. While functioning as a conduit is a necessary aspect of the continuing operation of SGIS, the information that already exists is rarely fully adequate for student needs -- the development of a strong research capability means that SGIS will be able to use its national perspective and student advocacy position to develop comprehensive solutions to problems. It is in the examination of hundreds of primary source documents for the two or three pieces of really useful information that the research function will take its most obvious step forward but it is the production of original documents plus original primary tools which will ultimately result in the most valuable information for NSA member schools.

C. Publications:

SGIS publications were a normal function of the office at several points in its history. Our plans are to re-establish the publication function of SGIS through synthesis documents and other special papers. Synthesis documents currently in planning include "Governance" (with special problem areas covering Students and Boards of Trustees, Student Self Governance, Control of Student Fees, Organizational Power, Systems Management, and others), "Students and the Law" (with special problem areas including Group Legal Services, Students's Attorneys, The First Amendment, Due Process, Privacy, Student Fees, and others), "Tuition" (with special problem areas including Alternative Systems, Trends, Universal Free or Low

Tuition, and others), and "The Non-Traditional Student." Other synthesis documents will be produced as the demand arises.

VI. Summary

SGIS has more long range potential for benefitting students than any other program undertaken by NSA. It has that potential by virtue of its product: information. Information is the basis for organizing and it is the most important weapon any organized group can use to further its ends. Without it, we are forced to re-invent the wheel individually -- with it, we can build anything we choose collectively.

Area Conferences

During 1974-75, NSA held ten Area Conferences, all of which were organized locally by NSB members and alternates in cooperation with the National Office. They were held in the following cities:

Mid-Atlantic, Philadelphia
Midwest, Terre Haute and Gary
Southern, New Orleans and Charleston
North Central, St. Paul and Fargo
South Central, Colorado Springs and Houston
Far Western, Los Angeles

A Northeast Area Leadership Conference, planned by Clarissa Gilbert and Yvonne Lawton of CUNY in cooperation with the National Office was held in New York City.

The National Supervisory Board voted at their first meeting that each area would control its own conference and funds; the results were, to be blunt, disastrous. Although a few individual NSB members ran successful conferences, the Board failed collectively. Board members do not have the experience needed to run an effective and efficient conference, and although complete control may be a learning experience, it is member schools who eventually pay the price. The two greatest problems were light turn-outs and the lack of financial accounting. The latter has been an historical problem and the National Office has had little success in finding out where the money made at several of this years Area Conferences went.

We have concluded that if the Association is going to run effective conferences in the areas, they have to be coordinated by the full time staff in the National Office. In addition, all funds must be handled by the National Office in order to 1) protect member schools from being ripped off 2) protect the liability of the individual board members and the Association, and 3) satisfy the requirements of the auditors who review our books each fall.

On the brighter side, those conferences that were well planned were beneficial for both the areas and the

Association. At least three of the conferences were attended by more than 100 concerned students. A wide variety of topics were examined, geared so that they would reflect the needs and concerns of each geographical area. Relying chiefly on community resources, the Board members were able to offer expertise through resource people who were familiar with a given state's problems. This type of local perspective caused many delegates to focus on the difficulties of their own campus and then to collectively try to solve them. Topics of repetitive importance included governance patterns, funding of higher education, and confidentiality of records. As mandated by local interests, agendas were tailored to include workshops such as decriminalization of marijuana, hispanic issues, etc.

A new dimension was introduced to the programming of this years series of conferences - the Mini-plenary. The legislative session was first attempted at the South Central conference and was received with overwhelming success; as a result, the concept was utilized at each ensuing conference. The mini-plenary was designed to allow delegates to confront the National Officers, staff and Board members with questions about NSA. Delegates' concerns ranged from the conference itself, to the corporate structure of the Association, and to specific pieces of Congressional legislation. Delegates at the first WIKIMO conference voted to assess themselves local dues so as to allow for the travel of the Board members and the functioning of the area structure. This resolution was one which passed overwhelmingly in St. Louis but which tended to be overlooked throughout the year. Also of concern was the development of a relationship between NSA and the state associations. In all of the above cases, the Board members were charged with relaying the legislation to the entire Board and the National Office. Accordingly, the National Supervisory Board has acted on certain topics.

The area conferences also played a key role in the visibility of the Association. Students realized that the National Student Association is a viable and ongoing national organization, rather than just a group of concerned students who sponsor a National Student Congress once a year.

Since Board members are traditionally unable to devote a significant portion of their time to recruitment of new campuses, the Area Conferences served as a means for increasing membership. Delegates were able to see NSA "in action" -- to meet representatives from the Association, learn first-hand about NSA's programs and services, and offer suggestions on the kinds of projects and activities that would better meet their needs.

NSA has always relied on the belief that communication is a two-way street. Area conferences are a realization of that idea; interaction was apparent not only between the National Office and the delegates, but among the delegates themselves.

In conclusion, we feel that the time has come to weigh the value and over-all effectiveness of the Area Conference concept. In addition to the aforementioned problems, the existing areas are extremely large (almost all encompass several states) and they are not organizationally suited to small conferences. One purpose of area conferences is to facilitate communication among students at the local level; however, each state has separate problems that cannot be adequately addressed at a meeting of seven or eight states. Also, the growing trend toward the development of state associations fulfills the function of handling in-state problems.

We feel that one possible solution would be to hold two major single-issue conferences per year, instead of trying to run seven or fourteen mini-Congresses. The conferences, on topics such as "The Funding of Higher Education", could be held in rotating regions of the country. It seems that this would be logistically simpler and probably much more effective than the present system.

NSA Magazine

The NSA Magazine was developed during the Friedman administration to keep NSA's constituency informed on a variety of issues and to help promote membership for the Association. The first year five magazines, three of which were double issues, were produced. This year three editions of the magazine, all of which were double issues, were produced. Although the quality of the NSA magazine was consistently excellent, its broad scope and expensive format were in constant opposition with the financial limitations of the Association.

All of the work involved in the publication of the Magazine was the responsibility of one full-time editor who worked without assistance. The average cost of each edition was near $1,000.00, exclusive of postage and the editor's salary. In addition, since one purpose of the magazine was promotion of membership, it was mailed free of charge to every student body president and college newspaper editor in the country. Without additional staff, the selling of subscriptions and the solicitation of advertising became an impossibility. The combined result of the above mentioned factors led to the realization that the cost of maintaining the NSA Magazine in its present format outweighed its usefullness as a tool.

In May, the situation was evaluated and the decision was made not to publish the final double issue of the magazine for the year. The lateness of the school year made publication of the last issue an even more doubtfull investment from a fiscal standpoint and it was determined that most of the information contained in the final issue could be included in publications for the Congress. This has been accomplished and the decision eased the cash-flow situation of the Association somewhat.

The overall evaluation of the NSA Magazine forced some reluctant conclusions. Although the magazine was an excellent publication of very high quality, its expensive format placed it outside the Association's budget. The inability to hire more than one staff person for the magazine made regular and more frequent publication impossible, thus limiting its effectiveness. Although mailing it to non-member schools may have been an excellent recruitment tool if used in conjunction with other methods, the use of the magazine alone was too costly to be of benefit. Basically, we were forced to view the magazine not on its merits alone, but within the context of the Association's goals and financial limitations.

We were able to develop recommendations for a new in-house publication and this idea is discussed in the section of this report dealing with the future direction of NSA.

NSA Momentum

NSA Momentum, a four page newsletter, was designed to facilitate communication between NSA member schools. It supplemented the purpose of the NSA Magazine, which was largely devoted to in-depth coverage of issues, by serving as an on-going update of the Association's activities.

In addition to reporting on the activities of the National Office, Momentum covered area news by publishing information supplied by NSB Members. Momentum reflected a summary concern of the Kelly-Wise administration: to keep the membership informed. We realized that it was not enough to keep the lines of communication open between the National Office and member schools, additionally there was a real need to put area members in contact with one another. The infrastructure at the area level has been traditionally weak. We realize that Momentum was not a complete answer to this problem, but we feel that it was one step in the right direction.

Publications

The National Student Association offers a comprehensive list of over 60 publications for sale, covering such diverse subjects as student government structure, higher education funding, course and teacher evaluation, Third World students, international travel, student press, and lobbying. Many of these books have been published by NSA, with materials contributed by the Student Government Information Service (Course and Teacher Evaluation, Role and Structure of Student Government), and various NSA programs, such as the Womens Center (Women On Campus), the Third World Student Coalition (Third World Students), the Center for Drug Studies (Student Drug Involvement), and the National Campus Alliance for Amnesty (Amnesty).

The Association also offers for sale a number of books published by other organizations, which we believe to be of value to our constituency. These include a number of travel books (Where To Stay - USA, The Whole World Handbook, Let's Go: Europe); organizing manuals (Source I - Communications, Source II - Communities/Housing, The Organizers Manual); and specific areas of research that provide assistance to special interest groups, but haven't a wide enough appeal to justify publishing ourselves (The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Exploring Energy Choices, Guide to Alternative Colleges and Universities).

Publication sales could easily be doubled or tripled by:

1) Advertising. The only publicity our publications department has received in the past three years was a listing in NSA Magazine, which was published eight times in the last two years, and which was never sent to libraries, whose acquisitions departments might be interested in ordering copies, or to university departments which might order in bulk for courses.

2) Collection of past-due accounts. We have no method of collecting overdue accounts at this time. We still

have 54 outstanding invoices totalling $631.80, mostly to student governments, from this year alone.

Both of these processes require funds to implement, however, and to date, no such funding has been made available.

NSA has published five new books for distribution at the Congress this summer. Some are included in the Congress packets, and will be available for sale to the public after September 15th.

CHAPTER IV: MAJOR SPONSORED PROGRAMS

INTRODUCTION
NATIONAL THIRD WORLD STUDENT COALITION
NATIONAL GAY STUDENT CENTER
NATIONAL STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR FARMWORKERS
NATIONAL WOMENS CENTER
FOOD ACTION CENTER
NATIONAL CAMPUS ALLIANCE FOR AMNESTY

Introduction

This section deals with the major sponsored programs of NSA, most of which were created by special-interest mandates of previous Congresses. None of the programs are carried by the administrative budget of NSA. With the exception of the Food Action Center, created in February, all of them were approved by the NSB at the recommendation of the Officers early in the year.

Each program was given office space, minimal supplies, one month's local phone usage, money for one mass mailing and a section in the general funding prospectus for the year. Technical assistance in proposal writing and fund-raising was also offered. Because the Officers and the NSB felt that all of the original program proposals were equally worthy, a decision was made to offer equitable, albeit minimal, support to all of them rather than to favor one to the detriment of the others. Several proposals (including ones on unionization of students and veterans) were withdrawn when the people involved realized that they would not receive outright grants from NSA.

The success of each and every program then, was dependent upon the commitment of the individuals behind it.

It is not at all easy to start from scratch to build a successful program, especially given the scarcity of outside funding, but some outstanding examples from this year prove that it can be done. We have found that if a project is truly valuable and backed by students who care enough to really work, then it has a reasonable chance for success.

In retrospect, those who declined NSA's necessarily limited financial support, probably would not have succeeded even with large amounts of money: we have concluded that initiative, energy, imagination and persistence are eminently more valuable.

National Third World Student Coalition (NTWSC)

A mandate from the Catholic University Congress (1972) created the National Third World Student Coalition. It has continued in name only to the present, although one part-time employee was hired during the Friedman administration with the understanding that he had to rais the money for his salary from the membership. While there was an active third world caucus at the last Congress (St. Louis), not nearly enough was done this year in the area of problems of third world students. This was not because of a lack of commitment on the part of the national officers and staff.

The National Third World Student Coalition, like similar NSA programs was allocated an office, supplies and limited phone usage. The Coalition was represented in a general funding prospectus which was written by the President, approved by the Chairperson of the Coalition, and submitted to various foundations. Help in writing a specific proposal and working to see that it was funded was offered by the National Office. Preliminary discussions on the proposal were held between the officers of NSA and the officers of the Coalition, although no draft was ever submitted to the National Office.

In the late fall, the fight for school desegregation in Boston became a major issue and the President and several members of the National Supervisory Board were asked to endorse a teach-in and freedom march in Boston on December 13 and 14. The endorsement was given on the basis of NSA's long-standing commitment to equal opportunity education. Thousands of students attended from all across the country; they voted to hold a National Student Conference Against Racism in Boston on February 14-16.

The students also proposed to hold a march in Boston on May 17th to commemorate the historic Brown vs. the Board of Higher Education decision of the Supreme Court. In order to help build for the February Conference, the National Office was opened to students from the D.C. area who worked on several mass mailings.

The results on the teach-in and NSA's continued participation were discussed at the January 18-19 meeting of the National Supervisory Board. It was decided to endorse the results of the Teach-in while making it clear that although NSA had very strong positions in favor of school desegregation, there was no official stand on the issue of busing.

The February Conference saw the formation of the National Student Coalition agains Racism (NSCAR) whose top priority was building for the May 17th demonstration. NSA became a very active member of NSCAR; the President gave several speeches on behalf of the Coalition and mailings on the march were sent to NSA member schools.

The National Supervisiory Board met February 28-March 2 and at the urging of the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Third World Coalition, a resolution withdrawing support of the May 17th March Against Racism was passed. Part of the resolution stated that individuals from the National Office who continued to support the March could only use their titles if the disclaimer "for identification purposes only" was added to the endorsement.

The effect of the vote was far-ranging. Although the President continued to strongly support the march, students from across the country were outraged by the Board's decision. At the South Central Area Conference in Houston, a resolution was passed condemning the decision and expressing unanimous support for the March. Student government leaders from around the country telephoned and wrote to the National Office expressing their concern. Thomas Atkins, President of the NAACP flew to Washington to speak to the President of NSA and asked that NSA assume the responsibility for informing and organizing college students about the March. On April 16th, Kathy Kelly sent a long letter to the NSB asking them to reverse their position. (Several of them had already done so.) The decision was reversed by mail and phone responses to the letter. (None of the Third World members responded, however.) A mailing cosigned by Thomas Atkins and Kathy Kelly was sent to every student body president and college newspaper editor in the country. Kathy then participated in a news conference in Boston and continued to give speeches on behalf of NSCAR and the Association.

The March Against Racism, which was co-sponsored by NSCAR and the National NAACP was held on May 17th. Kathy Kelly, at the invitation of Roy Wilkins, spoke at the rally which drew 35,000 people. Students came from across the country by the busload. NSA continues to be apart of NSCAR which is now planning its second national conference which will be held in mid-October.

Although the March, and NSA's participation, was an overwhelming success, the fact that the President of NSA and the leaders of the Third World Student Coalition had openly disagreed on the issue created serious problems for the Association. In February, the NSB had voted that no action could be taken on Third World Issues without the approval of the leadership of the Coalition. Letters sent from the National office to members of the Coalition asking for advice on programming for the Congress with the aid of interns who happened to be interested in Third World issues. The Board agreed that, in view of the lack of response from the appropriate leaders, that this was a more desirable alternative than no programming at all. We fell that given the circumstances, the work done by the staff and interns was excellent.

Our evaluation of the year for this area is mixed. The events around the Boston struggle became a major issue for NSA this year. We used the events in Boston to continually remind students that desegregation and racism are not dead issues; we urged them not ot isolate Boston as an example, but to look to their own campuses and communities. Through speeches given throughout the year and in several articles in the NSA Magazine, welinked the issue of racism to the issue of rising tuition and educational cutbacks, which hit non-white students first and hardest.

On the other hand, there was the friction between the leaders of the Coalition and the National Office. The Officers and staff were reluctant to act without guidance from the Third World leadership because of the Association's (and also the Coalition's) firm commitment to self determination. The continuing lack of such guidance resulted in much less work being done on significant issues than could have been done. It should be pointed out, however, the responsibilities of being on the National Supervisory Board, coupled with the on-campus responsibilities that most NSB members bear, make the active participation required of a leader of the Coalition very difficult.

Although the NTWSC has traditionally dealt with domestic issues of concern to students of color, several international issues which may justifiably be considered "Third World Issues" were dealt with by NSA this year. A report on those issues will be found in other sections of this report.

National Gay Student Center

The National Gay Student Center was founded shortly after the passage of the first gay rights mandate at the 24th National Student Congress in 1971. The Center, known internally as the Gay Desk, is and always has been run by lesbians and gay men. The Center has had several continuous projects since its inception: publication of its newsletter "InterCHANGE," collection of information about gay student groups, and collection of information on gay studies.

The financial position of the National Student Association has precluded salaries for Center personnel; as a result it has been staffed by volunteers with outside jobs. Because of the time commitment in what amounts to two jobs, the Center has not been staffed continuously. In October 1973 the National Supervisory Board voted to move the Center to New Brunswick, New Jersey, under the directorship of Ms. J. Lee Lehman. In October 1974 the National Supervisory Board renewed Ms. Lehman's directorship.

The Center has always been run as a low-budget project. It is self-supporting: its income derives from the sale of its newsletter and several other publications. In spite of its low budget, the Center has been able to accomplish many things. Accomplishments for 1974-1975 include:

1) "InterCHANGE:" Two issues of volume 3 have been printed. The first featured gay bookstores; the second gay studies.

2) Publications: Ms. Lehman served as editor for the book Gays on Campus, published by the National Student Association. An article by Ms. Lehman will also appear in the forthcoming book, The Gay Academic, edited by Dr. Louie Crew.

3) Gay student groups: The Center has come out with its third edition of "Gay Student Groups" in two years. In addition, the Center distributed a questionnaire to those groups to ascertain the kinds of campus problems (or lack thereof) that groups were having.

4) Speaking engagements: Ms. Lehman has spoken to approximately fifty predominantly non-gay student audiences since September. This included one Area Conference of the National Student Association. In January, Ms. Lehman participated in a workshop on gay services presented by the National Entertainment Conference.

5) Interaction with other gay groups: Ms. Lehman participated in a panel on teaching gay studies arranged by the Gay Caucus for the Modern Languages in December. She is a member of the National Gay Archives and Library Committee which is presently negotiating for space to house a national gay archives.

Three years ago the Center established connections with the Task Force on Gay Liberation of the American Library Association. More recently, Ms. Lehman has worked with Task Force Coordinator Barbara Gittings on the collection of gay studies syllabi and the preparation of the Task Force publication, "A Gay Bibliography."

The Center's work in the field of gay studies was recently featured in "The Advocate," one of the largest gay papers in the country.

Recommendations

The Center has always been limited by its financial status. So far it has not been possible to visit many campuses to help establish groups, to provide resources directly, or to assist when problems come up. Student gay groups are fairly isolated unless there is another gay group nearby. The major recommendation of the Center is that financial support be found sufficient to pay for more than a few issues of "InterCHANGE."

National Student Committee for Farmworkers (NSCF)

The delegates at the 27th National Student Congress passed a unanimous resolution to continue support for the United Farm Workers' Gallo boycott. Because they felt that a lack of boycott information nationwide was stunting its success, they also determined to set up an NSA clearinghouse for boycott information. Out of this mandate grew the National Student Committee for Farmworkers. In September UFW organizers Gene Lee and Tom Kavet, who were receiving academic credit for their work, set up the clearinghouse for boycott information in the National Office. Although NSCF received a steady trickle of foundation support, it struggled with finances all year. Despite this problem the NSCF did a tremendous job in organizing students to boycott Gallo products and non-UFW grapes and lettuce.

The NSCF concentrated heavily on the Gallo part of the boycott, because many low-cost Gallo wines are campus favorites, inlcuding Boone's Farm, Ripple, Spanada and Thunderbird. In some student areas Gallo sales were cut by as much as 70%, even though Gallo began running campus advertising campaigns and promotional deals in response to NSCF's pressure. The boycott continued to slash Gallo profits all year -- nationwide sales down by 16-19% in the Fall fell another 6% by the end of January.

The National Student Committee for Farmworkers used many tactics to promote the boycott:

I. Campus Boycott Groups

The NSCF staff organized student support committees for the boycott on campuses all over the country -- through campus newspapers, direct mailings and telephone calls. The staff disseminated many different forms of information: films, pamphlets, tabloids, posters, slide shows to help these groups organize local boycotts. NSCF also helped campuses organize referendums, petitions and cafeteria boycotts to remove non-UFW lettuce and grapes from campuses.

II. Workshops at Area Conferences

NSCF staff did several workshops at NSA Area Conferences to inform students about migrant workers' living and working conditions and about how students can help end these conditions through support of the UFW.

III. Intern Program

The NSCF offered accredited internships in the development of community organizing skills to students throughout the year. Pete Koneazney of the University of Wisconsin -- Milwaukee joined the NSCF in the National Office in January.

IV. The First East Coast Mobilization For the Farmworkers

On April 18-20, the NSCF sponsored the First East Coast Mobilization for the Farmworkers at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. More than 600 students from twenty-one states and Canada attended the three days of workshops, films and speeches. They learned about migrant workers, about the history of the UFW struggle, and about how to organize boycotts in their communities. Cesar Chavez and Dick Gregory spoke, student support committees were strengthened, and full-time summer interns were recruited for boycott offices in many cities. The mood of the Mobilization was jubilant, its results were productive, and we rated it an overwhelming success.

V. The "Open Letter to Ernest Gallo"

During the year the Gallo Winery ran ads in many campus newspapers criticizing the UFW's arguments for a Gallo boycott. The Winery claimed that their workers freely chose the Teamsters Union over the UFW in 1973, despite reports from Gallo workers to the contrary. This prompted an "Open Letter to Ernest Gallo," endorsed by NSA, signed by over fifty college student body leaders, and published in many campus newspapers. The "Open Letter" called upon Ernest Gallo to debate with Cesar Chavez. The company refused, on the basis that the whole issue was a jurisdictional dispute between the Teamsters Union and the UFW. Subsequent letters between the Gallo Winery and

NSA stalemated, as Ernest Gallo continued to refuse to debate the topic.

VI. Si, Se Puede!

In June a California law was passed which guaranteed the secret-ballot union elections which the Farm Workers have long sought through the boycott. The elections are to be held this Fall, so the UFW has concentrated most of its time organizing in California in the past few months. Because of this the NSCF staff has assumed responsibility for the Washington, D.C. boycott office.

NSA Women's Center

Like many similar projects within the Association, the NSA Women's Center has been unable to obtain outside funding since 1971. All action taken on women's issues within the past few years has been accomplished administratively and without specifically budgeted funds. Although this seemed at first to be a hopeless situation, we found the reverse to be true. The non-existence of a funded center and personnel working solely on "women's issues" forced the integration of feminist issues throughout the larger context of the entire Association. Overall, we feel that this has been a very effective method of approach. It should be pointed out, however, that in the absence of funded projects, the responsibility for covering issues of importance to women falls to those people within the Association who consider them a priority. Following is a list of work done this year.

I. SGIS

A determined effort was made to upgrade the quality and amount of information on various issues of concern to women students. An information packet on Title IX was developed and distributed through SGIS and at Area Conferences. (Recent changes in the law will make it necessary for this packet to be updated for use next year.) A comprehensive bibliography, "Resources for Sex Discrimination in Education" was also compiled.

II. Programming

Programming on daycare, health services, women's studies and Title IX was offered at Area Conferences throughout the year. The programming at this year's Congress is a good example of the "integration" concept: eleven different workshops are devoted wholly or in part to women's issues, rights, population control or health services.

III. Women's Packet

The Women's Packet given to delegates at this year's Congress is the nucleus for an anticipated new version of the NSA publication Women on Campus which will supplement the 1973 edition. The new edition will not be repetitive of existing information but will be devoted largely to original articles. (A number of other valuable publications on day-care, women's studies, etc., are also available through NSA.)

IV. Class Action Suit

In the fall, NSA joined a class action suit against HEW for non-enforcement of sex discrimination legislation, including Title IX. The suit is being handled by the Center for Law and Social Policy and the other complainants include NOW, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and the National Education Association (NEA).

V. Title IX

Title IX was isolated at the beginning of the year as an issue which deserved considerable time and effort on the part of the Association. Information on the law aimed at enabling students to monitor the level of compliance of their institutions was disseminated through SGIS and at NSA Area Conferences. NSA testified before the House Subcommittee on Post-Secondary Education on the regulations for enforcement of Title IX. NSA also submitted written comments on the procedural regualtions for the enforcement of Title IX and other civil rights laws to HEW in conjunction with the Center for Law and Social Policy. In addition, NSA worked with several other organizations in an intense and successful lobbying effort on the Title IX regulations.

NSA Food Action Center

> The world food crisis. Famine abroad, hunger at home... Americans shovelling down junk food, chemical food, non-food at higher and higher prices... Agribusiness grows, the small farm dies... Food aid cut and food stamps attacked... Money for bombs, but not for development... Food for peace is really for war... Grain for the Russians to feed their cattle, but no grain for the people of the Third World...

NSA's involvement in the world food crisis issue began early this fall when we became part of the Coalition for Population Year, an organization involved in the World Food Conference in Rome. NSA gave credentials to six student journalists who were sent to the Conference by their respective campuses.

It became increasingly apparent that students were becoming actively concerned about the world food crisis. Hunger Action Projects and Food Action Projects were formed on many campuses. At schools as different as Missouri Valley College, the University of South Dakota and Princeton, students were studying the problem of hunger, raising money for international relief efforts, investigating the quality of the food we eat, probing into questions of American food policy at home and abroad.

An estimated 500 colleges participated in Food Day activities sponsored by the Center for Science in the Public Interest on April 17, 1975. Many will again take part in Food Day II on April 8, 1976. On November 21, 1975, representatives of several hundred colleges will gather at a National University Conference on Hunger in Austin, Texas sponsored by the Institute for World Order.

NSA established a national food action clearinghouse for students in February, 1975. Operating with a seed grant of $5,000 from the Population Institute, the NSA Food Action Center, originally called the Center for Food and Population Studies, began to tackle two of the most pressing needs of the student food activists: to find out what was going on and where; and to begin to put students in touch with each other and with experts who could help. It started a newsletter, The Food and Population Exchange, that was quickly picked up by student activists when it began to disseminate information on world hunger and domestic food problems to students across the country. Field work began and students coming to Washington were welcomed and given assistance in dealing with the Congressional Committees they wanted to see. The Center began to line up support for the coming year, to outline a program of expanded activities and to seek funding for its work. Throughout all of this, the two original staff members worked with students interested in food problems -- by letter, by phone, in person. It was a good beginning.

This summer the NSA Food Action Center got its new name, an additional seed grant of $3,000 from the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church and its 1975-76 program. This year the Center will offer campus food activists educational materials, student organizing ideas, experienced advice and expertise on food policy issues, and technical assistance. The staff will do active field work and organizing on college campuses. The newsletter, now known as the NSA Food Action News, will be published monthly with news of other campuses, up-to-date run-downs on national legislation, notice of books, articles, speakers and events, advice on community organizing, population, and environmental problems related to food.

All of this begins at the NSA Congress with workshops on food action, food legislation, world hunger and population. Senator George McGovern, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, will speak to the delegates.

We feel that NSA is playing a key role through the Food Action Center, helping students from all over the country press for change in the kind of food Americans eat and in creating a world where everyone will eat.

National Campus Alliance for Amnesty (NCAA)

Last year NSA published the book, Amnesty which was available for the 27th NSC. In August, the outgoing President hired an experienced draft counselor to direct the Alliance with the understanding that the director would raise the funds necessary to sustain the program. The newly elected Officers and the NSB approved tis situation and NCAA began to distribute information and develop campus contacts.

By spring it became apparent that President Ford's earned re-entry program, despite the fact it was a far cry from amnexty, had taken much of the organizing steam out of the issue. Funding became an impossibility, not only for the Alliance, but for other organizations who ran amnesty projects, such as the ACLU. We then turned to the possibility of obtaining funding by changing the focus of the Alliance to working for a Congressional Amnesty. After investigation, it was concluded that Congressional interest was not sufficient to implement any wider-reaching terms for a universal, unconditional amnesty.

In the meantime, NSA had been trying to give NCAA time by carrying it on the administrative budget. When this became an intolerable burden and when it was evident that no prospects for continued funding were in sight, the reluctant decision was made to suspend NCAA indefinitely until funding could be obtained.

The book Amnesty has been widely distributed and requests for reprints of the Spincode Information printed in the book are coming in daily. NSA continues to monitor Congressional action (currently HR-7875) and to represent our views on the issue of amnesty in various forums.

CHAPTER V: SERVICES DIVISION

INTRODUCTION
INSURANCE TRUST
NATIONAL STUDENT TRAVEL BUREAU

Introduction

The Services Division of NSA has been formulated in response to a consumer-oriented market economy and the age-old question, "What do Student Governments do for the individual student?" More and more student governments across the country are recognizing that serving the needs of their constituents involves more than just fighting academic battles or campus social rules. Students are consumers like anyone else, with certain definite needs, and student governments should be providing services which positively affect the buying powers of students.

The cost of higher education is sky-rocketing, and educational researchers predict rising costs in coming years. The latest studies indicate that students are concerned about the cost of books and educational materials, as well as the cost of living, which is escalating at the fastest rate ever, while corporate profits are reaching all-time highs. NSA's response is to provide its membership with consumer-oriented services -- student owned, student run and student financed.

The National Student Association has a long history of student services dating back to the early fifties when we first began to offer educational travel tours. This first attempt grew into the National Student Travel Association, which helped thousands of students travel world-wide at low cost. The National Student Travel Bureau, NSTA's successor, was created in 1972.

After the original travel programs, NSA's next big thrust in the area of student services came in 1964 when NSA, through a mandate calling for low-cost insurance coverage for students, contracted with American Health and Life Insurance Company to administer the NSA Life Insurance Program. The USNSA Insurance Trust was set up to act as a depository for the program. Eventually the Insurance Trust expanded its services in 1973 to include major medical health insurance coverage designed to supplement the basic coverage already offered to students by their campuses.

Shortly after the Insurance Trust was established, NSA created the National Student Book Club, designed as an individual membership organization like other major book clubs, offering discounts on any book, including textbooks, in print. It was hoped that the Book Club could be expanded to serve the needs of student-operated book co-ops, and to offer other materials besides books, such as calculators, typewriters, and pre-recorded cassettes. While the notion of providing books to students at discount prices seems appealing, the marketing test conducted in the Fall of '74 proved otherwise. NSBC has since closed.

As mentioned earlier, in 1972 the National Student Travel Bureau was established to provide full wholesale and retail travel operations at the cheapest legal prices available to students. NSTB contracts for services, primarily with Intercollegiate Holidays in New York. NSTB offers package educational tours and vacations, special programs and all the attendant travel services, including the International Student Identity Card, the American Youth Hostels card, travel publications, and travel and baggage insurance.

In addition to these services, this fall will find NSA with a Discount Printing Service, operating out of New York, and the test marketing of a new Student Property Insurance Plan. If the test goes well, as we anticipate, in 1976 NSA will be offering to all of its schools a student property insurance plan that can be matched by none. It will cover students' property, including bicycles and stereos, in full, while in residence at school, intransit to and from home, and while traveling abroad. It is the most comprehensive plan of its kind.

Because NSA is a national organization with a solid reputation in the services area, we have been able to negotiate national contracts which reduce costs to the student consumer, while generating small amounts of revenue for both campus governments and the Association. The NSA, in turn, utilizes this source of revenue to fund other non-revenue-generating programs like SGIS. Student consumers, campus governments and NSA all benefit from this alternative economic system.

Our size and ability to deal with substantial volume in any given area enables NSA to have products and services designed specifically for students and their special needs. We intend to continue to develop programs serving the consumer interest of students with a watchful eye towards cost.

The immediate future presents possibilities for offering tuition refund insurance for students, a new and challenging approach to the problem of students who are forced to leave college for financial or medical reasons. In the future NSA may look to establishing an Emergency Credit system, one of last year's NSC resolutions. The card would probably have a $100 to $300 limit, to be used primarily for emergencies. In addition NSA may try utilizing some of the major purchase buying services, popular in the northeast and southeast. These services offer wholesale prices to their membership on such items as autos, stereo equipment and cameras.

In the field of travel, NSA wil continue to work for domestic youth fares, a system of student charter flights modeled after the European system, and hopefully student hostels within the US. Admittedly some of these ideas are in the distant future as major changes in the policy of the Civil Aeronautics Board are necessary for legal operations.

The realm of student services that can be offered by NSA to its member schools is vast. The only limitations are the financial burdens of a small budget which does not provide for research time or the staff necessary to research products and negotiate with suppliers. We will continue to develop student services to our fullest capacity, keeping in mind the needs of students and their equally tight budgets. Understandably, development of these services is slow but the end product will be low cost, high quality services to students with greater visibility and support of the local student government and NSA.

USNSA Insurance Trust

The 16th National Student Congress in 1964 passed a mandate directing NSA to research low cost life insurance protection for college students. After months of work with attorneys, actuaries and other specialists NSA developed the USNSA Life Insurance Plan.

The USNSA Insurance Trust was established as the depository for all payments to the insurance plan. The Trust is administerred through the centrally located Boatmen's National Bank of St. Louis.

American Health and Life Insurance Company was chosen as the underwriter because they offered the best coverage per student dollar, taking into consideration student needs and because they had the assets to back up each policy.

This plan was designed to offer students basic protection during the financially difficult years of college at a very low price, which students and their parents could afford. As long as students remained in school they would be guaranteed this low rate. Upon graduation the plan could automatically be converted to one which not only provided protection, but allowed for savings (whole life insurance) in the form of cash value.

Additionally, since NSA does not want those who continue the plan to lose the $20 paid during school years, the whole life policy premium is reduced during the first four years by at least $20 per year. This whole life policy also provides for disability and the option to purchase additional coverage at later dates when students might want more coverage for newly acquired dependents. All this is guaranteed under this plan regardless of health.

This past year the Life Insurance Program saw its fourth best year ever in terms of the number of applications sold. This means more revenue for NSA. In addition, there were a greater number of schools participating in the program with a greater geographical distribution. This is a strong indication of the success and popularity of the program. Many schools and state associations recognized the value of offering this program not only as a service to their students but also as a means of increasing their visibility to their students and of gaining respect in the area of student services programs.

While at the same time this year saw a greater participation of schools and an increase in the number of applications, the actual percentage of enrollments was not as good. More names than before were needed to bring in a comparable nimber of applications. This is not a reflection on the program, but rather it is an index on the state of our economy last August. If you recall, the buying power last fall was greatly curtailed in all areas of business. For the Insurance Program, this meant that more mailings were made and more money was being spent to secure each application.

In an effort to stabilize the program and maintain the level of revenue earned for NSA the program's promotional activities were cut back in November of 74. The staff was reduced to one during the following normally slow months of winter and early Spring.

In the new campaign, beginning late Spring, a conscious effort was made to contact those schools which were particularly successful last year or who promised success for this year to upgrade the enrollment percentages. This effort, while not necessarily increasing the number of overall applicants for the program, should reduce the cost of each application and thereby increase profits for NSA.

To date this approach seems to be working. The number of participating schools and names is running on a par with last year's program. If all proceeds as well the program will have completed its stabilization and the revenue for NSA will have been maintained.

National Student Travel Bureau (NSTB)

At the conclusion of its first year of active operations, the National Student Travel Bureau (NSTB) stands as a rather extensive and effective organization in the field of American student travel. Accordingly, this past year has been one of rapid growth and involvement in many areas. Essentially, NSTB has filled the void that has existed in American student travel for many years by providing transportation services to students at the lowest possible cost and advocating their interests domestically to regulatory and legislative bodies and internationally on bilateral and multilateral bases. NSTB is a unique organization; there is none other that serves the same function or represents the same interests.

NSTB was formed in January of 1972 as a non-profit subsidiary of the educational corporate structures that comprise the U.S. National Student Association. It has a contractual arrangement with Inter-Collegiate Holidays, a student travel agency, which handles all the administrative aspects of travel programming. By entering into such an agreement, NSTB is able to offer a varied and extensive selection of travel programs and can successfully compete with businesses in the field of student travel. The advantage of NSTB is that it is run by students in the interest of students. Most of the programs that are constructed by Inter-Collegiate Holidays consist of round-trip air fare, a week in a hotel, transfers from airport to hotel and back, tips and taxes. Travel has always been a popular activity for students, and NSA is now able to offer a wide range of trips to the Bahamas, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Hawaii and Europe. NSTB offers students the best package possible at the lowest price possible.

NSTB has a series of campus travel centers across the U.S. which promote the bureau's programs and services. Until recently, NSTB was primarily an east coast travel service with the majority of its participating campuses in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and New Jersey. More and more attention has been directed towards developing student travel in western states, primarily in California, with a moderate involvement in Mid-western states. NSTB is becoming truly national in nature.

In response to the need for training the representatives that staff the campus travel centers, NSTB held its first annual National Student Conference from the 13th to 16th of February. The conference was held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington and consisted of a series of workshops, speakers, discussions, and films. The response was favorable and we are planning future conferences with the hope that they will become an established activity of the student travel industry.

Most national student organizations in foreign countries have student travel bureaus equivalent in function and position to NSTB. Recognizing that productive travel arrangements can be secured by conferring directly with these travel bureaus, the Director of NSTB and the Executive Director of NSA attended the 25th Annual General Meeting of the International Student Travel Conference in Mexico in the Fall of 1974. At that meeting, NSTB served as observers on the American delegation. At the 26th meeting in October, 1975 in Portugal, NSTB will again participate. With NSTB's increased and ever growing participation in student travel. American students will once again have an effective international voice in this area.

In order to strengthen those international contracts, NSTB is becoming involved in bilateral programs. The NSTB Director represented the bureau on the recent delegation to the Soviet Union in July, 1975 and laid the groundwork for a continuing series of student exchanges. The Soviet equivalent of NSTB is SPUTNIK and the two organizations will be influential in perpetuating the contacts and translating them into a full and extensive series of travel programs between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

NSTB has also been active (and successful) in advocating student interests before federal regulatory and legislative bodies. These achievements have led NSTB and NSA to believe that there is a definite need for a national student travel organization for domestic and international student advocacy. In the Fall of 1974, NSTB and a Ralph Nader group, the Aviation Consumer Action Project (ACAP) sued the Civil Aeronautics Baord in an appeals case aimed at preserving low cost charter air fares. The action came as a response to the Board's decision to set minimum charter rates and significantly raise Trans-Atlantic fares. The Board attempted to regulate the only form of air transportation that was not controlled by the international rate fixing cartel and to eliminate the only competitive input for lower air fares. Following NSTB and ACAP, all the charter carriers joined the suit as well as the Association of Charter Tour Operators. Finally, when the Department of Justice joined the suit, the Board backed down--two days before the case was going to trial.

Another Board action, a proposal to eliminate affinity charters, brought a concerted response from NSTB and other groups who were opposed to such a move. A very high percent of student charter flights are organized on an affinity basis. Numerous other groups and organizations use the affinity charters for their members and NSTB joined with them in a campaign to express opposition to the CAB's proposal. The "Charter Hot Line," which was operated out of the National Office, was designed to inform the public how to formally make their views known to the Board. The results were extremely effective. In mid-February the CAB issued notice that due to public response, it was reversing its earlier position and that affinities would not be terminated.

NSTB was also active on Capitol Hill. Senator Cannon (D-Nev) introduced a bill in the Senate (S.421) that would be a major step toward realigning the airline industry toward low-cost travel for everyone. The bill contained provisions for liberalizing charter regulations, for retaining the affinity charters, and for the reinstituting of youth fares and senior citizen discounts. As an advocate of student interests, NSTB testified for the bill and supported all the provisions as being progressive and in the public interest. Much of the legislative activity has subsided since the CAB reversed its position in the area of furthering low-cost travel opportunities by responding with regulations that significantly resemble the provisions in S.421.

Because of its activity in regulatory proceedings and its interest in developing low-cost air fare, NSTB's opinion on several areas of national aviation policy is now sought out by federal agencies. NSTB is called on regularly to file comments with the CAB on proposed regulations and on policy alternatives in the field of air travel. In April, NSTB was invited to the State Department's International Aviation Policy Conference and is presently involved in proceedings to publish and disseminate simplified air carrier tariff information. NSTB is currently the only student travel advocate recognized by governmental committees and regulatory agencies, partly because it doesn't concentrate specifically on only pro-student issues, but rather deals with implementing a philosophy of low cost public air travel with special compensation for those groups less able to afford air travel.

As indicated at the beginning of this report, NSTB has had an active and very effective year. We foresee that NSTB will be even more active and effective in the future. Much of the groundwork has been laid for an extensive system of participating campuses. To date, however, the financial return has not been fully realized. NSTB has certain guaranteed payments due it from the program administrators but in order to be really remunerative, NSTB will have to exceed that minimum many times over. It is anticipated that this income will be realized within the next few years.

NSTB will keep up its legislative monitoring and regulatory involvement. Changes have already been effected but there remains much more to be done. In time, hopefully, air travel will be available to larger portions of the population at more attractive prices. We feel strongly that the input and active involvement of students can help bring about this goal.

CHAPTER VI: CORPORATE AFFAIRS

BIFURCATION
FUNDING

Pursual of Bifurcation

The Association's tax problems, subsequent bifurcation, and financial difficulties are all related. As far back as the 1950's, students in NSA were discussing the need to lobby effectively on educational issues having an impact on students. At Congresses in 1968, 1971, 1973 and 1974, delegates took strong stands in favor of restructuring NSA to allow lobbying as a legitimate activity of the Association. Last year, the following resolution was adopted by the 27th NSC as part of the report of the National Supervisory Board:

Be it resolved:

1. that bifurcation continue;
2. that methods be sought to increase direct control of the NSA Foundation to at least that of a simple majority (of the Board);
3. that NSA seek appropriate measures to force the IRS to grant NSA the right of internal control of its structures without intervention.
4. that the membership of NSA seek to disaffiliate itself totally from the NSA Foundation if, after one year, the Foundation has proven to be unresponsive to the membership of NSA.

In moving ahead on bifurcation, we tried to fulfill both the spirit and the letter of the recommendation of the NSB report called for prudence as well as implementation.

The cautiousness with which bifurcation took place was not entirely due to our own action, however. The IRS was supposed to give NSA a final decision on the revocation of the Association's (c)(3) educational tax exemption in August, 1974. Our attorneys advised us that whenever we sought money on behalf of NSA, we also had to state that our exemption was under challenge. In an already tight year for foundation money, this made NSA's prospects for obtaining grants almost nil. When no decision seemed to be forth coming after several months of requests by our attorneys, we began to apply pressure. An appeal was made to several members of Congress, describing our situation andstating that the lack of a decision appeared to be a continuation of the "Enemies List" IRS harrassment tactics used against NSA. We informed them that a negative decision, which would at least allow us to obtain a new exemption, was preferable to no decision at all, which was slowly strangling us to death.

Our appeal seemed to work; several members of Congress became interested in the IRS investigation of NSA and after several more months, we were offered a compromise by the IRS. This was more than ten months after the decision was to have been rendered.

The agreement permitted NSA to assume a lobbying (c)(4) tax status without jeopardizing previous foundation support or exposing NSA to tax liability. This arrangement allowed for an orderly transition of NSA's tax affairs where protecting both NSA and our donors of the past years.

The alternative to accepting the agreement was certain revocation of NSA's existing (c)(3) which would leave the Association without a tax status. Three major grounds for revocation cited by the IRS, were:

1. the negotiating of the People's Peace Treaty;
2. the calling of a student strike over the invasion of Cambodia; and
3. calling for the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon as President of the United States.

Other grounds of a seemingly less political nature were also stated.

The NSB discussed the agreement at their June meeting. Both the President and a majority of the Board felt that above the actual merits of the agreement, a moral issue -- that of prolonged and undue harrassment of NSA by the IRS was at stake.

The President and members of the Board also expressed a related concern about the NSA Foundation. (During the investigation by the IRS, NSA had voluntarily agreed to bifurcate into two separate organizations; NSA, Inc. a political and lobbying group and the NSA Foundation, an educationally tax-exempt organization.) The IRS, fearing that the NSA Foundation's tax exempt grants would be used to finance the political activity of the NSA, Inc., had placed extraordinary restrictions included the prohibition of more than one full-time student on the Board, which would severly limit student control of the Foundation.

It was resolved at the NSB meeting that the President should investigate further the various alternatives including the possibility of a Congressional investigation.

A meeting between the President and the Association's chief tax counsel can be summarized by the following points:

1. if NSA sued the IRS for improper revocation of the (c)(3) exemption, we would have a good chance of losing Although the major grounds for revocation are overtly political, many other charges (such as our open support of the 18-year-old vote or our attempts to defeat overly punitive legislation regarding marijuana) appeared to be valid;
2. it would be difficult to determine if NSA's alleged violations of its tax status were substantial enough to justify revocation, since the IRS loosely defines the conditions of "substantial;"
3. our attorneys (who even though they work on a pro bono basis, are owed over $24,000.00 in back legal bills largely resulting from tax problems) would only enter the case in court if they were paid in advance. (Court costs are much higher than regular legal services;)
4. if NSA chose to sue, it would not have benefit of any exemption while the case was pending;
5. it was doubtful that any other organization would sue on our behalf at no charge to NSA. (The ACLU, for example, rarely enters the complicated realm of

tax law;)

5. continuing to fight in court would demand almost all of NSA's limited time and few resources, leaving no time or money for any other substantial activity;
6. the moral rationale for sueing the IRS could be fulfilled in two different ways other than going to court:
    a. a Congressional investigation, which appears possible.
    b. becoming part of one of several coalition efforts working to reform the IRS;
7. Congresses in '68, '71, '73 and'74 had urged NSA to reorganize in order to be able to lobby. The agreement, in granting a (c)(4) tax status to NSA allows for this; refusal leaves NSA with no tax status at all;
8. since the NSA foundation had been granted a (c)(3) eduational tax exemption in February, 1974, it was not only possible but highly likely that a change in the make-up of the Board of Directors could be applied for and granted. [(c)(4) and (c)(3) organizations are handled by separate branches of the IRS;]
9. if the change in the Foundation Board was not granted it could be appealed. If all appeals were lost, then a suit could be initiated. The attorneys felt that this would make a much better case than sueing over the revocation issue.

Subsequently, a letter of agreement was sent by our counsel to IRS. The process of changing the Board of Directors of the Foundation has been undertaken, under the supervision of our tax attorneys. The Board of the Foundation is voluntarily requesting to change its By-Laws so that the original structure, later changed by the IRS, might be implemented. This would provide NSA with majority control of the Board of Directors by eliminating the restrictions created by the IRS on service by more than one full time student and by past NSA officers and

Board members.

Additionally, a request to alter slightly the current composition of the NSAF Board (including the NSA President instead of the Vice President) was implemented immediately after the recommendation was discussed and approved by the NSB.

As of 30 September 1975, NSA will be tax exempt under section 501(c)(4), thus allowing it the full rights and priviledges of an "action organization" able to lobby in accordance with the desires of the membership. The NSA Foundation is already in possession of the necessary educational 501(c)(3) exemption needed to better undertake educational projects with the assistance of outside funding sources.

Funding

In order to fully understand the ramifications of bifurcation and their impact on the funding of NSA, Inc, some history must be understood.

The general trend in the Association's overall financial picture has been characterized by two unmistakeable trends. First, the Association's overall debt, which exceeded half a million dollars in 1969-70, has been steadily decreased for the past six years. Our current operating deficit is estimated at $35,000. The second trend, which is somewhat surprising given the reduction of our debt, is that the Association's income has been decreasing over this same period. The reasons for this decrease are three:

1. the end of all CIA funding in 1967;
2. the end of virtually all government funding in 1968 when Richard Nixon entered the White House;
3. the end of all general operating grants.

It was this third source of income that sustained the national office throughout the anti-war period and into the mid-seventies. With the general economic situation afflicting the stock market and the private foundations, corporate giving has been slashed. One of our major funding sources even closed its doors this past year.

This has, necessarily, had an impact on the functioning of the national office. No projects or programs have been undertaken **in the** last ewo years unless they were supported by outside funding.

The dollar shortage created by the lack of general operation support took its toll in the daily operations of the office. The costly NSA Magazine had its mailing list reduced and eventually the publication was phased out temporarily. Staff salaries were not raised according to long-standing Association policy, and for a three month period no salaries were paid. We are still trying to repay the staff who woked during that period for nothing.

As discussed last year most of the implications are inherent in NSA becoming a full-fledged lobby As mentioned earlier much of the traditional funding available to NSA has dissolved because of the current economic situation. In addition, the nature of campus activism has changed. Highly visible activity such as the large scale demonstrations is more "fundable" than quiet, yet solid lobbying or community organizing.

The loss of "newsworthy" campus activity has resulted in the loss of roughly one-half of our unrestricted income. Of the remainder, one-third comes from dues, two-thirds from services. In the coming year NSA faces a budget that is only one-half what it has traditionally been because foundation contributions have virtually disappeared. The change in tax statuses will also preclude any further contributions to our general operation budget in the future.

The leadership of the Association over the past few years had become increasingly unhappy with the reliance on private foundations for support. Tim Higgins sought to increase income from services. His successor, Larry Friedman, tried to build membership with an eye to eventually being able to turn to them for full financial support. This year, we have developed new services and raised some money (for the last time, I assure you) from private foundations. It is now time for the membership to determine where our income will come from if we are to continue as at present.

A number of recommendations concerning the Association's financial base are made later in this report. But it is essential that the reader understand from the outset that this year was a difficult one, and that it is up to the incoming officers and the delegates here to make changes that will ease the future. Anything less will literally lead to the destruction of NSA as we now know it.

Looking to the Future

By now you should have a fair picture of the limitations and potential of NSA. This past year has been a difficult one, primarily because of the uncertainty caused by not knowing where NSA's next dollar will come from. The staff is owed thousands of dollars and we have borrowed against the future to be here today. Now the decision about where we go and how well we do it is for you to decide. The officers would like to offer several major changes in structure for you to consider. It does reflect a great deal of thought and we hope that you treat them seriously, regardless of what choices you make.

The first principle upon which our recommendations and comments are based is that the National Student Association can only be a national student association if it is representative of American students and if it is paid for and controlled by American students. This may seem difficult for some of you who may be new to NSA, but you must consider the point seriously.

The National Student Association has been funded by all sorts of organizations and individuals for its entire year. While we are not familiar with all the details of our early history, there was no national staff and the budget was miniscule. The national headquarters was wherever the President was in school, and all that happened from year to year was the Congress. At some point in the early 'fifties, the Central Intelligence Agency began to covertly fund NSA programs through dummy conduit foundations that channeled CIA money to all kinds of people and groups. The 'fifties was a period of rampant anti-Communism, and the CIA funded several organizations which were willing to advance any kind of liberal thinking. Only one or two people within the Association during a given year were aware of NSA's relationship with the CIA. The liaison was terminated in 1967 when it was made public.

One of the NSA presidents realized that there was great danger in having one source of income; the money could be cut off, and the ties with the CIA were certainly strangling the healthy development of the Association. He began to solicit funds from Federal agencies by hiring bright staff members whose sole purpose was to develop salable funding proposals for governmental and private agencies. The people were amazingly successful and NSA's income base was smoothly converted from clandestine CIA funds to open government grants. But this was still 1967 and early 1968. With the election of Richard Nixon to the White House, NSA's governmental funds were stopped. NSA appeared on the infamous "White Hosue Enemies List" and was one of the 99 organizations investigated by the Special Services Staff of the IRS. The harrassment had begun, and it was serious business.

Fortunately, the anti-war movement and student activism of that period brought NSA into the public eye, and private funding sources were willing to fund a significant portion of the operational base of NSA. The Association called for the impeachment of the President in 1970, for actions like the Cambodian "incursion" and sent delegations of students to Vietnam to negotiate a "People's Peace Treaty." Students were very active and people noticed.

Times have again changed. The stock market has depleted the endowments of private foundations, and inflation is whittling away at everyone's dollars at double digit rates. Grants are being cut back (the Ford Foundation reduced its program staff by one-third) and foundations are closing their doors. Too, students are not in the news they way they once were, and our concerns are not the concerns of our predecessors. The result is that we cannot balance our budget because our traditional sources of income are depleted.

But an interesting phenomenon has become apparent. When NSA had no money, the CIA appeared. When the CIA left, the Federal government was called in to fill the void. When that ceased, private sources came to our rescue. But all during that time, no one in charge thought, "Why not ask the constituency to put up what it takes to run NSA?" For years everyone but students have been paying for our organizations. Strange, isn't it?

This past year, we projected a budget of roughtly $125,000. We knew that only about $70,000 of it would come in from services, dues, and publication sales, and the rest would have to be raised from private sources. The money was not there. We managed to raise about $35,000 in grants, but two of the organizations which have traditionally funded NSA said, "no more." We went to people for loans, and they said, "maybe, show us that students care enough to fund a significant portion of their own organization, then we'll talk." Our Accountant estimated a projected deficit of $26,000 for fiscal 1975-75. We have a current deficit of about $8,000 for the year to date, and we have not yet paid for the Congress and we have bills that are due that we cannot pay. To be sure, we took some very painful steps to reduce spending to an absolute minimum to reduce the projected debt, and we cut into it substantially. You have read about programs that were cut, vacancies in the staff that were not filled, the magazine that had to be suspended. We have tried to cut corners at the Congress without sacrificing on the programming. The fundamental reason for the Congress being in Washington, D.C. is that it greatly reduced our costs, since delegates had been complaining that the registration fees were too high. We lowered the fees and here we are.

NSA literally cannot go on another year like this one. The staff went for three months without pay, and we have only paid back a small part of the total amounts owed them. We are current with the IRS and our major suppliers, but there will be no grants next year and our services and publications sales income cannot be significantly increased. That only leaves one way to turn: to you.

Most membership organizatins spend between one-third and forty percent of their operating budgets on membership recruitment and maintenance. They establish an acceptable level of membership and replace losses of attrition with new members.

For NSA, this would mean that roughly $45,000 should be spent on this activity. Using our current situation for the sake of illustration, all of our income would (1) keep the doors open and (2) maintain our membership. There would be no staff or programs of any kind, only existence. It is for this reason that we propose a major step to reorganize NSA financially. We must dramatically increase our operating capital so that we can recruit and maintain a larger and more active membership. Because this is a "chicken-egg" situation, this plan is contingent upon affirmative act of faith in the Association, and schools that are currently members will have at least temporarily, to raise dues substantially if NSA is to accomplish anything more than mere existence. By expanding our budget to include recruitment and retention of a membership base, we can accomplish a number of things immediately:

1. the Association can function, *and* undertake new and creative projects, without fear of where the next dollar will come from;
2. the Association can build a membership and maintain it;
3. the simple functions being demanded by students can be met efficiently and effectively by the simple easing of cash flow shortages that force the officers and staff to spend the bulk fo their time fund-raising and negotiating with creditors;
4. the Association can become far more representative quickly, thus enjoying the benefit of increased input and greater credibility.

It won't be easy. But we have a number of proposals for you to consider.

First: determine what you want NSA to do as an Association. We believe that certain things have become obvious, and we list them here for your consideration:

A. *provide an efficient, accurate information service for the membership*. All interns should work for the Information Service, and NSA should have at least two full-time staff to coordinate the organization of the information and supervise on-going research by the interns. The service would:

1. collect the information on topics chosen as priorities by the constituency. Perhaps ten (10) areas could be identified by means of questionnaires sent to the membership.

2. respond immediately to requests for information from the membership. Information requests from non-members should be handled on a lower priority basis and a substantial charge should be imposed. This would force schools in need of information to join NSA.

3. prepare information packets, and where appropriate, books and reports, which would be available free-of-charge to members. Again, non-members should pay handsomely for these reports.

4. collect news items from campus papers. These could guide the staff in locating innovative solutions to problems as well as creative projects on campuses. The information could be summarized for publication as a regular feature of an in-house publication/newsletter, and would also guide the staff in identifying new issues and trends in student communities.

B. provide as a service to members legislative monitoring and lobbying at the Federal level. This would be done with the following functions:

1. research in depth the major issues selected by delegates at Congresses. Position papers would be prepared and sent to members only. Legislative summaries and calendars would be sent regularly to members in the in-house newsletter. Our recent successes NSA enjoyed with the Buckley Amendment, the Title IX regulations and the CAB rulings proved the necessity for sound research.

2. lobby, on behalf of NSA's membership, on the selected priorities as delineated by the Congress. Although the Congress is limited to five (5) Legislative Activity Mandates, we would do well to keep the number of

issues to three to insure efficient representation and thorough presentation on the important issues.

3. assist local and state lobbying groups upon request. In those few peculiar cases where state or local lobbying groups would need to contact Federal legislators for assistance or concerning matters of Federal legislation affecting their districts, NSA's lobbying staff would assist them. NSA would also provide assistance to the groups of students in the setting up and maintenance of state organizations, which would include advice on organization, organizing, research, and lobbying itself.

C. produce a regular, in-depth newsletter for the membership. One, and if needed, two persons would be hired to produce an in-house newsletter designed to coordinate all the information being collected and produced by the various facets of the Association. News summaries from the Information Service, legislative calendars and summaries from the lobbying office, program reports, resource material listings, and so on would be collected and regularly distributed to members. In addition, summaries of new research available would be itemized, including articles on topics of current interest to students (control of student fees, student trusteeship, unionization, financing higher education tuition alternatives, etc.).

One important aspect of this newsletter is that it is designed for members only, and should be disseminated to member institutions in such a way as to insure that the information could be used effectively. For example, a member institution would be entitled to twenty subscriptions free of charge. The member school would send a list of names and addresses to the Association and the newsletters would be mailed, first class, from the office to the people on the campus. No single student body president, no matter how capable, can possibly reflect all of the diverse interests of students on his or her own campus. This would enable another officer or committee chairperson to utilize the information provided by NSA. NSA would be reaching more decision makers and leaders and the information would be far more widely distributed.

D. present a small number of conferences in such a way that NSA has continuity, content, and credibility built in. This would, we suggest, necessitate the elimination of area conferences as we traditionally know them. We have already discussed some of the problems, which result from a Board that changes annually; we should have the National Office coordinate and run all of the conferences. Programming is difficult because of regional needs, and the Association traditionally attempts to run mini-conferences at least seven and sometimes fourteen times a year. It is unreasonable and perhaps impossible to achieve. Instead, we propose the following:

1. two National Student Congresses a year. Each Summer the Association would hold its regular, week-long education conference, much like the current Congresses, But each Winter, probably in February, the Association would sponsor another, perhaps shorter conference, which would include a mid-year report and special programming dealing with political issues and the political processes. The Winter conference would be essentially political, the Summer educational.

2. special, single-topic conferences. The Association would sponsor no more than three but probably only two special weekend conferences on topics like the funding of higher education, legal rights, sexism in the university racism, etc. These conferences could be repeated in different areas of the country to insure wider access to the information and allow delegates to economically travel to the sites.

The real advantage of this system is the built-in continuity. During the Spring and Fall, NSA could run topical conference twice, alternating sites around the country. During the Winter and Summer, National Congresses would be held. Schools would, regardless of the time of joining NSA, be in touch with and participating in educational and political activities year round.

Schools would plan ahead based on predictable calendarized conferences and attendance at national meetings would skyrocket, thus improving the quality of the conferences and the relationship between the membership and the national office.

Once again, a strict principle of "members only" would prevail. Members would pay registration fees based on the cost of the conference or even less, depending on income to NSA, and non-members would pay exhorbitant prices for attending as non-members. A National Congress could probably be run for $50-$90 per delegate for members, but a rate like $200 would be set for non-members. Again, force people to join NSA because of the good services being provided. The time has come for member campuses of NSA to stop paying for the services currently rendered to non-members.

E. establish a system of area coordinators/recruiters. If NSA is to become an effective association, this is the key to the whole process. The Association needs persons to

1. travel to campuses in their areas on a regular, rotating basis;
2. collect information everywhere they go being sure to have campus papers, student government reports, project summaries, etc. sent to Washington for review;
3. recruit, including answering questions about the Association and programs;
4. be prepared, on a moment's notice, to travel to a member campus to assist in solving or at least analyzing a problem there. Information can be relayed to the National Office where assistance can be planned and provided;
5. foster communication between schools in an area. NSA field staff would help plug campuses into state associations and lobbies, regardless of whether the schools are members of NSA.

F. develop new services. This would entail identifying needs in the constituency and locating agencies or companies, or creating new ones, to solve problems felt by students. NSA could conceivably get into tuition refund insurance, student credit cards, discount buying services, and so on.

There would be other functions of the National Office, but these six would be sufficient to start with. The important thing is to remember the first principle, namely, that the membership must determine what it wants NSA to do. The six areas we have identified are more than enough for starters, assuming the membership agrees, but we have determined these six functions in response to our year of talking and meeting with students from across the country. The function of NSA could be any combination of these and more, but you must remember one thing: determine what is most important and what it will cost. Then put up the money to do it.

To fulfill the functions we have isolated, as well as keep the doors open, would require a staff of at least twenty and probably about twenty-four, depending on the number of field staff. The cost would be something over two hundred thousand dollars ($200,000) not counting the expense for the national office (about $40,000). This is nearly twice what we operate on at present, and we have a decreasing budget, as you know.

The primary source of income must become dues. If two hundred schools would pay $1,000 each, the ballgame would be won. With the additional income from servcies and miscellaneous sources, NSA could balance it's budget and provide the service above while maintaining it's membership base. The field staff would have to sell the products and services to the membership and see that dues payments were made.

(If we could suggest it, the field staff should probably be tried on a subsistence-level salary augmented by a percentage of the dues income received in the area of the recruiters. This would combine incentive to travel and recruit with minimizing the risk the Association would take on commitments to salaries.)

This is not an easy thing to recommend in an officers' report. Asking the membership to raise dues at a time when not nearly enough is being done seems a bit ludicrous. But it is not, we assure you. This is deadly serious. The real truth is that the membership, by paying only $20,000 in dues to NSA, should not expect much. We have already said that it would be possible to produce a 4-6 page newsletter, once a month, each month, for $20,000. That's it. No services, no information office. no lobbying. Other organizations pander (as NSA has) to the Federal government and private sources, and some panhandle door-to-door to try and make ends meet. We believe that there is little merit or dignity to such a situation, and that you, the delegates to the 28th National Student Congress, must decide what NSA is to be and who is to pay for it. But if you decide what you want and expect is someone else to foot the bill, you will not have an NSA twelve months from today. I whole-heartedly encourage all of you to attend the NSA finances workshop where detailed information on our funding history and trends will be discussed.

There are several other changes we would propose. First, restructure the Congress Steering Committee, making it a small but effective sub-committee of the National Supervisory Board. The current CSC is too big and completely ineffectual. True, there are a few good members who returned this year. But generally there is no quorum of returning CSC members, and new people have to be elected from the delegates early in the Congress to fill all the vacancies. And in session, the CSC does not restrict the number of calendar items: virtually everything goes on an agenda and nothing is corrected stylistically. Just read some of the mandates that were passed in the wee hours last year, and you'll get the point. There are a number which are incoherent to the point of being totally incomprehensible; others which are frustratingly vague. A small CSC, perhaps five persons, made up of Board members, would give a continuity (the Board does meet regularly) we do not now have and would strengthen the relationship between the Board and the national office. It would also eliminate the unnecessary tension between the CSC, which is ususally comprised of people new to the Association, and the NSB, a body which has been functioning all year and which generally has a good understanding of the issues involved.

Second, eliminate the Vice President's post. As a lobbying organization, the Association needs only one chief spokesperson, and because of the election processes, NSA often has two persons who must necessarily be at odds during the year. The Vice-President is usually a defeated Presidential candidate (because of the drop-down provision), and may be better or equally qualified to be President. Because the officers do not run on any kind of ticket with a combined platform, two completely opposite philosophies can be juxtaposed in the national office. The results are chaotic. Traditionally, of course, the Vice President was responsible for the nebulous area of "programming." With the bifurcation of NSA into two separate organizations, NSA is the political and "action-oriented" half of the structure. The NSA Foundation, while complementary to NSA's functioning, is somewhat independent (for tax reasons) and will handle the bulk of the strictly educational programs. The need for the Vice-President is thus reduced to assisting the President and nothing more. Finally, the creation of the post of Executive Director by the National Supervisory Board more than a year ago has instituted a needed professionalism in dealing with corporate and business affairs. Anyone who thinks that dealing with lawyers, accountants, businesses and the like in the real world is fun and groovy for a recent college graduate is mistaken. The negotiation of contracts and solicitation of prices for services is serious business, and we have saved literally thousands of dollars by transferring a number of purely business responsibilities to an on-going position of Executive Director.

Third, the Association must create a mechanism for allowing the constituent units of state associations to affiliate with NSA. The units themselves must join so that we strengthen our own potential membership base without diminishing the need for the state organizations. Allowing a state association to affiliate on anything but an FTE basis would destroy our base of schools and eliminate any possibility of generating dues income for NSA. There are a number of good proposals that have come to our attention, and the National Office has and will continue to work with those interested in working out proposals.

These are not all the changes that should be made to help NSA be more efficient and fundable. But we believe that they are food for thought and should be considered carefully by the delegates this year. Unless you, the constituency deal with the issue now, the chance will be lost forever and NSA if it continues to exist at all, will not be an organization worthy of the support of American students. We hope that you are equal to the challenge. We believe in NSA and we believe that it is something worth struggling for.